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SYLVA NORMAN

Other Contributors: John Langdon-Davies, Guy Richmond, Gordon Winter,
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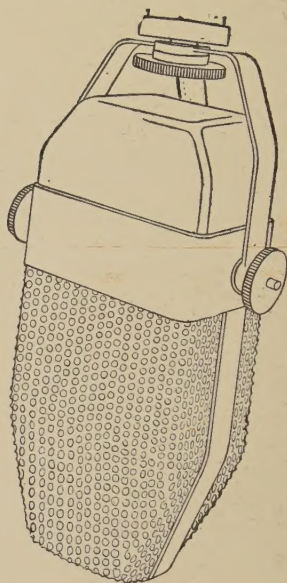
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THE FORTNIGHTLY

OCTOBER, 1949

THE FIRST HALF OF THE MONNET PLAN

BY R. P. SCHWARZ

THE French *Plan de modernisation et d'équipement* (Monnet plan) for 1947-1950 has now run its course for two and a half years.

A general review of its main features and an appraisal of its prospects was published in THE FORTNIGHTLY of July 1947*. Some three months later, the *Commissariat général du plan* began the publication of regular six-monthly progress reports, comparable in many ways to Britain's annual *Economic Survey*. The latest, the fourth of this series†, is particularly interesting because it deals both with the results of the second half of 1948 and those of the two years 1947 and 1948 combined.

(I)

French economy has undoubtedly made great progress in the course of the last two years, and particularly in 1948. Direct observation shows this almost as clearly as economic statistics. Anybody who visits France to-day cannot fail to notice many tangible signs of improvement, some of them of little importance in themselves, but each symbolic of a gradual return to pre-war standards of living. As distinct from Britain, France is not to-day a country where "many butchers are dying from broken hearts." Food supplies are ample and varied; prices, after a sharp inflation during the first nine months of 1948, have been stabilized or are actually falling; the black market has virtually disappeared, except to a limited extent for rice, sugar and coffee; supplies of good quality textiles, footwear and household goods are also plentiful. Thus, the opening section of the fourth progress report is rightly headed: "The end of the shortages." And to judge from the number of foreigners to be seen in France, the country has been enjoying this year an exceptionally good tourist season. The peak figure of 2,000,000 foreign visitors, reached in 1929 and repeated in 1948, is likely to be exceeded this time. As the margin between the black market and the official rates of foreign currencies is now reduced to less than ten per cent, foreign visitors sell their currency to the banks. Instead of disappearing into private hoards, as heretofore, this currency now flows

* R. P. Schwarz, "The Monnet Plan and its chances."

† *Deux ans d'exécution du plan de modernisation et d'équipement*, Commissariat général du plan, Paris, May 1949.

into the official Exchange Stabilization Fund. So great has been this influx of foreign money, that the Fund, for a while, ran short of francs with which to pay for it, and measures had to be taken to provide it with more francs for these purchases.

(II)

Altogether a more optimistic atmosphere pervades French life to-day than at any time since Hitler's rise to power. If optimism is open to statistical proof, then population statistics should be quoted in evidence. A stagnant or a falling population does not necessarily reflect a nation's pessimistic appraisal of its future. Such a phenomenon may have other causes. But, conversely, a marked increase in the population is certainly not unconnected with an optimistic outlook. No doubt higher birth grants and larger family allowances have contributed a great deal to this change, but they do not explain everything. France, for the first time since the turn of the century shows signs of a fundamental reversal of demographic trends. These signs may yet prove misleading but, in any case, the French population has already increased by close on a million during the last three years :

	<i>Births</i> <i>I n</i>	<i>Deaths</i> <i>t h o u s a n d s</i>	<i>Excess of births</i> <i>over deaths</i>
1946	836.2	541.9	+ 294.3
1947	863.0	533.5	+ 329.5
1948	864.0	506.0	+ 358.0
	<hr/> 2,563.2	<hr/> 1,581.4	<hr/> + 981.8

The number of births recorded in 1948 has not been exceeded since 1896 (when it reached 866,000). No lower death figures are on record since the beginning of population statistics (1801). The natural increase in the population in 1948 was also the highest on record. As a result, the total population, at 41,500,000 is almost back to its pre-war (1938) figure of 41,960,000. At the first census held after the return of the prisoners of war, in 1946, this total had been as low as 40,600,000.

The shape of the "age pyramid" has, however, changed. The ratio between the number of children and old people, on the one side, and the number of the working population, on the other, is becoming increasingly unfavourable, and this adverse movement will be further accentuated if both the birthrate and the death rate maintain their present tendency to rise and to fall, respectively. As a result, a shrinking "active" population will have to provide for a growing number of "dependents". This may create some economic difficulties in the late 'fifties or early 'sixties, but hardly of such magnitude that technological progress and the growth in the national

income could not take care of them. The change in population trends is therefore most welcome.

(III)

National production and, hence, national income, rose considerably in 1947 and even more so in 1948, when they came very near to their pre-war (1938) totals.

The aggregate value of national production measured at (constant) market prices—prices, that is to say, which take into account indirect taxes, and price subsidies—has moved as follows :

	Gross national production	Depreciation and maintenance	Net national production
	<i>At market prices, in thousand million francs</i>		
		<i>of 1938 value</i>	
1938	403	45	358
1946	333	42	291
1947	359	43	316
1948	393	44	349

At the rate at which national production* was running during the second half of 1948, its value exceeded the pre-war (1938) figure by about 2.5 per cent. ; but the total value of goods available for consumption was about eight per cent. lower than in 1938. A larger share of total production was devoted to capital goods and to exports. At the same time, the relative contribution of agriculture and industry to total national production underwent some change. Despite a very good harvest, the value of agricultural output fell by about ten per cent. while key industries increased their contribution to the total : iron and steel by about 25 per cent., transport by 38 and electricity supply by 21 per cent. The share of processing industries showed little change. Industry as a whole would therefore seem to have strengthened its position in relation to agriculture. Such a development would correspond to the fundamental purpose of the Monnet plan, with its accent on industrialization. But it is too early to say whether this development will continue. The relative expansion of industry (versus agriculture) may prove quite temporary if France also develops her agricultural production, as she has undertaken to do by 1952-1953, under the long-term programme which

* The French figures reproduced above are based on national *production*, a concept not identical with national *product*. The first concept excludes, the second includes the value of government services to the national economy. The U.K. national income figures are based on the concept of national *product*. There are other, minor, differences of definition between the French and the U.K. statistics (see *National Income Statistics 1938-1947*, United Nations Statistical Office, 1948, p. 56). These differences preclude any direct comparison between the French and the British figures, which would otherwise be most interesting. A (highly qualified) comparison can be found in the *Economic Survey for Europe in 1948* (U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva, 1949 ; table, page 235). From this and from other information (19th *Annual Report* of the Bank for International Settlements, Basle, 1949 ; tables, pages 66 and 67), the aggregate national incomes in France and in the U.K. for 1948 would appear to have stood in the relation of approximately 1 : 2. If this (very rough) comparison is adjusted for the difference in population figures, the ratio is then as of 1 : 1.75 (as against 1 : 1.6 in 1938).

she submitted last autumn to the Organization for European Economic Co-operation. If that programme is carried out, the relative position of agriculture and industry is, by the middle 'fifties, likely to be much the same as before the war and despite an expansion of industry, France should continue to enjoy the advantages of a satisfactory balance between these two main branches of her economy.

Under the Monnet plan, the output targets for industry in 1948 corresponded to the level of industrial activity reached in 1929. (In that peak year of the inter-war period, production, on average, had been some 25 per cent. higher than in 1938.) In most instances, these targets were reached by the end of 1948 ; in some cases, they were exceeded (as for electric power, nitrogenous fertilizers and agricultural tractors). Coal was the only important exception, for in the mines, the strike of October-November caused a bad set-back.

During the first quarter of 1949, industrial production continued to rise : the index reached 128 in March (base year 1938 = 100) and thus exceeded by two points the peak of 1929. Since then, it has shown a further small rise.

When the Monnet plan ends, in 1950, the production index is expected to have risen to round about 155. But meanwhile, another, even more ambitious, production programme has been adopted. In 1948, the Organization for European Economic Co-operation endorsed long-term plans, to be completed by 1952-1953, which provide new and even higher production targets for its various member countries. For France, a comparison of production achieved with production forecast shows that output will have to rise by a further one-fourth to two-fifths if this long-term plan is to succeed.

(IV)

The decisive factor in the general increase in production was the progressive and, on the whole, systematic realization of the large-scale investment programme which is the Monnet plan's main feature. In 1948, total *net* (that is, new) investment represented a value of 715 milliard francs, while maintenance of existing capital required another 315 milliards. *Gross* investment therefore amounted to 1030 milliard francs,* approximately one-fifth of total available national resources. Considering the inadequacy of new investment in France, during 1930-1939 in particular, the ratio appears by no means excessive. Consumption must give way to investment, to improve the competitive position of French industry in the world markets, which had increasingly deteriorated during that period of stagnation.

* At the current rate of exchange, this sum corresponds to about 1,000 million £. For the U.K., the figures given in Command Papers 7647 and 7649, if re-calculated on the same basis as the French and compared with the national income, lead to approximately the same rate of gross investment in 1948.

Of total gross investment, 506 milliards (just under one half) were financed from public funds, the rest from private sources. Among public funds must, however, be reckoned the bulk of the French franc counterpart of Marshall aid—130 milliard francs—released for investment purposes with American consent, and some 17 milliard of fresh money which the Bank of France advanced to the Treasury in the course of the year. That advance was purely inflationary in character. But while in 1947, some 40 per cent. of total gross investment had to be covered by recourse to the printing press, in 1948, this ratio fell to 1.7 per cent. Marshall aid, taken singly, financed about one-eighth of investment expenditure and, in particular, supplied the dollars required to pay for special American equipment without which an important part of the investment programme could not have been carried out.

It might thus be argued that without the Marshall plan, there would have been no Monnet plan. Obviously, without Marshall aid, the Monnet plan would, in 1948, have run into serious financial difficulties and large cuts in the investment programme might have become necessary, thus depriving it of much of its value. But conversely, Marshall help would have lost a great deal of its value without the Monnet plan. One plan does not supersede the other. If Marshall aid supplied the funds for an appreciable part of the investment expenditure, the Monnet plan provided, and still provides, the general framework within which the investment programme is being carried out. Undoubtedly, it was Marshall help which made it possible to stop inflation and, hence, to put the financing of investment on a sounder basis. But the French at least seized the opportunity. The credit restrictions which the Bank of France has applied since the end of September 1948 helped a great deal. They led to the gradual stabilization first of the currency, and then of prices and wages, and for the first time since the end of the war, a certain amount of genuine savings accumulated in the banks. Admittedly wage adjustments will still be necessary, for in many cases, wages have not caught up with prices. But these adjustments should now come about either by a cut in excessive profit margins (which constituted a "hedge" against currency depreciation) or from increased productivity.

(V)

In terms of plant and equipment, the investment programme is already showing considerable results. The list of projects completed or initiated in 1948 fills over one hundred pages in the latest Report. Only a few examples can be given here to show what had been achieved by the end of 1948 :

In the mines, fifteen new pits had been sunk, two new ones were being completed ; twenty-eight new coal washing plants had been put into service. Mechanical

equipment underground, in terms of power developed, had increased by 50 per cent. compared with 1938. The greatest electric power station in Europe outside Soviet Russia, Génissiat on the Rhône, had been completed and taken into service. Altogether, production of electric power had doubled since before the war and the increase in existing capacity of both hydro-electric and thermic plant (some new, some enlarged) corresponded for the two years 1947 and 1948, to an annual output of 2,200 million kwh (of which 1,428 million for hydro plant). The refining capacity of the French oil industry which, in 1938, had amounted to 8,127,000 tons of crude and had been reduced to less than 4,000,000 tons in 1946, reached 12,215,000 tons in 1948.

In the iron and steel industries, the investment programme provided more for the modernization of existing plant than for its extension. Steel production in 1948 totalled 7.3 million tons (against 6.2 million in 1938 and 9.7 million in 1929). Nine new blast furnaces were building, eighteen old ones were being rebuilt. Most of the existing rolling mills were being modernized and two new continuous hot strip mills were being installed for which the equipment is being supplied by the United States. As a result of this development, French steel production should reach 11 million tons by 1950 and (according to the O.E.E.C. programme) 12.5 million tons by 1952-1953. On the assumption that German production will then still be limited to its present ceiling of 10.7 million tons, the European steel balance sheet will have changed considerably: France should then occupy second place, among producing countries, after Britain (which, in 1952-1953 is expected to produce between 16 and 17 million tons).

No less important is the progress in agriculture. Already, in 1948, production of fertilizers exceeded appreciably the pre-war total, so that supplies were plentiful. Domestic production of agricultural tractors ran at the annual rate of 21,000 units. The number of tractors in use totalled 94,000 at the end of 1948 and had increased by 30,000 units in the course of that year (about as many as France had possessed altogether before the war). Admittedly though, progress is still slow in this field, for mechanization of French agriculture would require, as a first step, some 250,000 tractors, which is about the number at present available in Britain. But if mechanization is to be successful, many land holdings must be regrouped. Parcellization of land, a result of French inheritance laws, has gone too far. This regrouping is now taking place, but the process is slow: 3,500,000 hectares of holdings should be regrouped by 1950, according to the Plan, but only 260,000 have been dealt with so far and work is proceeding on another 710,000. (1 hectare=2.471 acres). The great difficulty in this field is the lack of trained land surveyors.

(VI)

Further strenuous efforts will have to be made in the coming years if French economy is to be restored to permanent health. Results so far achieved cannot be consolidated if no solution is found for the balance of payments problem. Besides, housing, industrial productivity and public finances will all require close attention, but in these fields no unsurmountable difficulties arise.

Housing has so far been sadly neglected under the Monnet plan. New building was inadequate even before 1939, partly because in France the effects of the slump of 1929 lasted until well into 1938 and partly also on account of a badly conceived rent restrictions Act. Since the liberation, most building has been confined to the repair and reconstruction of industrial plant and of war-damaged dwellings.

But while very nearly one half of industrial and commercial premises had been completely repaired by the end of 1948, the corresponding ratio for dwelling houses is still below two-fifths. However, by partial repairs, 85 per cent. of the total number of war-damaged houses (1,082,000) had at least been rendered habitable again. Yet, during the last two years, only about 20,000 new dwelling houses were built and at the end of 1948, only 34,000 were building. Given the shortage of living accommodation, a large-scale housing programme cannot be long delayed. With the present, more rapid, increase in the population, this is becoming all the more imperative. Besides, upkeep of existing housing has long been badly neglected and for health reasons alone, something like one-fifth of the total number of old houses needs replacing. But private building will not produce the new houses as long as, for social reasons, rents cannot be brought into line with the cost of other necessities. While the cost of living is fifteen times as high as in 1938, rents do not exceed four to five times their pre-war level. A large-scale housing programme will therefore require the use of public funds.

Low productivity of labour is another, persistent, difficulty that hampers French recovery. Since 1946, there has been great improvement in output per man and in nine important industries, productivity calculated per man (*not* per man-hour) has risen some 32 per cent. during the last two years. But in January 1949 the index (average for these nine industries), at 95, fell short by five points of its pre-war figure. In agriculture, productivity in 1948 was estimated at 96 per cent. of the pre-war figure. Productivity indices are notoriously imperfect, but there is every reason to believe that output, both per man and per man-hour, is still below pre-war except in metallurgy, mechanical engineering and the rubber industry.

The higher levels of production in 1948, compared with 1938, were chiefly due to longer working hours. In 1948, French industry worked on average a 45-hour week, against just under 40 hours in 1938. The total number of workers employed was also some five per cent. higher than in 1938. Both factors combined account for the considerable rise in production. But manpower reserves are now very limited and the introduction of foreign labour is proving more difficult than was expected. To reach the high output targets set up for the coming years, output will have to rise both per man and per man-hour. That will require further heavy capital expenditure.

French public finances have undoubtedly made some progress in 1948. The tax system has been simplified to some extent and the budget unified. But the main task in this field, a redistribution of the tax load between industry and agriculture, has not been tackled.* For electoral reasons, such a reform is unpalatable to all parties.

* See R. P. Schwarz : " *The Monnet Plan and its chances.*" THE FORTNIGHTLY, July 1947, p. 47.

The recent improvement in tax receipts, thanks to which the ordinary budget is now balanced, furnishes a convenient pretext for shelving this reform, and the pretext is likely to be seized with much relief. Yet, French public finances will not rest on sound foundations until the farmers are taxed on a par with traders and industrialists.

Lastly, there is the balance of payments position which, on a short-term view, is as serious as Britain's, if not more so. In 1948, the deficit on current account amounted to 1,754 million dollars (£435.2 million), against 1,674.9 million in 1947 and 2,048.9 million in 1946. If capital payments are included, the figure for 1948 rises to 1,794.8 million dollars (£445 million). This compares with a United Kingdom deficit of £120 million and a total deficit for the Sterling area of £423 million. But while the latter deficit represented 18.7 per cent. of the total outward payments of the U.K., in the French case, 54.2 per cent. of current outward payments could not be provided for out of current income. The dollar deficit alone amounted in 1948 to 1,210.8 million (£300.4 million), against the Sterling area's £423 million and, to the extent of three-fifths, had to be covered by E.R.P. and American credits.

French export trade improved, however, markedly during the second half of 1948 and the first half of 1949 : in 1947 exports represented only 61 per cent. of total imports, against 66 per cent. in 1948 and 83 per cent. during the first half of 1949. The larger volume of production made it possible to increase exports without placing excessive restrictions on home consumption. Moreover, the latest devaluation of the franc (carried out in January 1948) gave French export prices an advantage which does not seem to have been wiped out as yet by the rise in wages and domestic prices. This favourable trend is not, however, likely to continue during the second half of the current year. The American "recession" affects French exports much the same as those of other countries. On the other hand, French invisible exports should this year produce a substantial income, as from tourist expenditure alone a sum of 200 million dollars is expected.

On any long-term view, France's balance of payments position does not, however, appear as dangerous as Britain's. Compared with Britain's obligations on behalf of the Sterling area in 1948, set equal to £303 million (that is, the difference between the total deficit of the Sterling area, £423 million, and the United Kingdom's own deficit, £120 million), France's obligations resulting from the deficit of her overseas territories amounted to a mere £47.5 million. No doubt, disbursements on that score will increase with the gradual development of these territories, but they are unlikely to reach a multiple of the mother country's own deficit. Apart from that, France is considerably less dependent on food imports than Britain. On that

score, the better balance between her agriculture and her industry gives France a marked advantage.

Yet, France cannot, any more than Britain or the United States' other debtors, solve the balance of payments problem in isolation, whether by 1952-1953 or at any time thereafter, for its solution depends very largely on American economic policy. In present conditions, American import demand, insufficient in total volume at the best of times, is shown to be highly elastic in the downward, and very little elastic in the upward, direction. Nor could this situation be greatly improved by the manipulation of exchange rates such as is at present favoured by the United States. Such a measure would seem to be totally inadequate by itself to bring about a normal balance of international payments, which cannot be achieved by purely monetary means. It cannot supply more than a comparatively minor contribution to that revival of multilateral trade from which the United States expects economic salvation.

With summer ended and foreign tourists departed, France, like other European countries, must now reconsider her economic policy from the angle of her balance of payments. The present feeling of optimism may wane in the same measure as the influx of foreign exchange is reduced to more normal proportions. The decisions she will then have to take may not turn out to be quite as painful as Britain's. But those who like to oppose to Britain's policy of austerity France's more liberal economic policy, with its lack of austerity, may yet find that, fundamentally, neither of the two will have succeeded. In the French, as in the British case, the ultimate success of recovery depends on the balance of external payments. If that problem proves intractable, both France and Britain will have failed in their efforts. And if it is argued that the same negative result will have been brought about, in the French case at least, by "less disagreeable means," that argument will have to be qualified by adding the words "and with less social justice."

ECONOMIC CONTRASTS IN THE PHILIPPINES

BY A CORRESPONDENT

IT is not unusual in Manila to hear some European say : " I give this country five years before the crash." And certainly, seen from Manila, the threats to Philippine economy seem many and grave.

The people and their climate are lazy. A hotel boy who had to go up to my room and down again expected a handsome tip. He was quite eloquent about the trouble and fatigue involved. This laziness unfits the Filipinos for mining and industrial enterprise. Gold production, formerly a most profitable industry, is now almost at a standstill. The owners say that the inertia and inefficiency of labour are so great that it is hardly worth the effort of reopening the mines.

The people besides are captious and difficult. Strikes on the Manila waterfront, in industry, and troubles on the sugar plantations are an ever present irritation to the Europeans sweating at their desks in Manila. The Filipinos—or at least the Tagalog who inhabit central Luzon around Manila—are great grumblers, delighting to have a grievance to nurse and very willing to use strikes or more violent means to gain redress. In the mountains and marshes just north of Manila Bay—not many miles from the outskirts of the capital—are the Hukbalahap, the bands of unruly peasants, generalised by communists, whose complaints against the great absentee landlords keep them in perpetual armed revolt against the State.

The administration, moreover, is corrupt. Early this year a Government adviser on police affairs said in public and with deliberation : " If any Manila policeman tells me he lives on his pay that man is either a liar or a magician." Graft extends upwards from the humble policeman to the highest representatives of the people. My arrival in Manila this spring coincided with the climax of a struggle between the President and Senator Avelino, his rival for the Liberal candidature in the next elections. Both sides were widely accused of 'gangerism' and the rival candidate was defeated on charges of misappropriating party funds.

Government and legislature moreover are actuated by a perpetual fear and greed to an unending war on foreign business in the islands. For centuries retail trading and small banking have been in the hands of Chinese whose influence is resented and whose profits are coveted by the natives. Legislation against the Chinese has therefore been

a recurrent activity of whoever controls the country ; and in these days of non-discrimination this takes the form of legislation against all foreign business interests.

The Filipinos, in addition, are spoiled. For forty years they have been a responsibility of the United States, sharing in that country's prosperity ; and their emancipation has been accompanied by the gift of many millions of dollars in the form of repayments of former excise collections from the coconut oil tax, or, latterly, in the payments of war-damage claims, in addition to lavish expenditure from America on defence and other services in the islands. The streets of Manila are as dangerous as those of London, crowded with cars, buses and jeeps, each luxuriously furnished in its own kind : the jeeps like miniature buses with upholstered seats and gay awnings, the buses enlivened with booming radios ; and the cars are expensive new models from America. The Filipinos now travel by air about the islands much as in Europe we travel by train. The cost of living in Manila is higher than in America and many of the goods which the city consumes are imported from the United States.

Idleness, inefficiency, lawlessness, corruption, a nationalist xenophobia in legislation and a luxurious extravagance in daily life—these are the weaknesses of the Filipino character and economy which are continually before one's eyes in the capital. There are Filipinos as well as foreigners who say that it is American troops and American gold which alone hold intact the national structure. "The Americans should not have left us independent until the Hukbalahap trouble was cleared up. Our own Government is not strong enough to handle it." "America must continue to help us financially for many years to come." "We were better off under the Americans." Such opinions as these are far from universal, but I have heard them from respectable and patriotic Filipinos in various walks of life.

But America does not intend to help the Philippines indefinitely as in the past. Already United States troops have withdrawn to Clark Field and some few other strategic points, leaving the policing of the island and the endemic operations against the Hukbalahap entirely to Filipino troops. The flow of unearned dollars is to stop in 1951 when the last war-damage claims are paid. And after 1955 even the privileged position of the Philippines within the American tariff walls will gradually disappear. The cutting off of American aid, the withdrawal of troops, the cessation of subventions and the reduction of marketing privileges must all affect Manila profoundly. The drain on the exchequer of containing the Hukbalahap will be heavier, and to the procurement of arms and munitions for this end must be devoted an increasing proportion of what dollars the country can earn. With the end of unearned payments the dollar purchasing power will fall sharply. Petrol, clothes, cigarettes and a host of other

goods which have become almost necessities of life in Manila will be practically unobtainable and the whole appearance of the city must change.

To the city dweller this prospect seems ominous indeed. His holiday visits to Baguio in company with his colleagues and friends, his business trips to Cebu or to the sugar plantations in Negros can show him nothing but new facets of the same prospect and can do little to lessen his conviction of an impending collapse. This gloomy conviction I, however, do not share. An all too brief sojourn in Mindanao, the second largest of the islands, was long enough to convince me that the country is safe these many years from outright economic catastrophe. Even in the Manila offices the seniors, conscious of the great riches of the country, do not altogether share their juniors' facile pessimism. One sugar merchant for example was confident that he could still operate at a profit for the next fifteen years. In others too the hope of continued gains could not be stifled by present difficulties or the prospect of future troubles. But in Mindanao it is the troubles which seem far away while the wealth of fields and mountains is obvious to the eye.

I saw from the air the rich rice fields around Cotabato, interspersed with fibre plantations and served by a maze of rivers and channels, navigable in all directions for lighters and small tugs. Up the valley, south-west of the town, are marshes and flat lands needing very little work to double the existing paddy area. In the north-west of the island is another such basin, even more extensive and hitherto still less developed, served by the Agusan river which is navigable to a greater distance than that of Cotabato. The extension of a fairly primitive wet field cultivation to cover all the more easily farmed portions of these two valleys could by itself convert the Philippines from a rice importing to a rice exporting country.

From Cagayan, on the north coast of Mindanao, I drove up the road which runs west and south to the Bukidnon uplands, past the Del Monte pineapple plantations. The success of this one fruit-growing venture covering one tiny fraction of the empty highlands suggests the possibility—with capitalization—of a vast fruit industry on the mountain slopes. Even without foreign capital or Government aid it should not be beyond the capacity of Filipinos, with a little local Chinese backing, to start some fruit growing on their own. But the crying need of the uplands is for cattle.

The 66 mile drive up to Malaybalay is impressive. The great rolling landscape with occasional mountains shows mile upon mile of pasture, cut here and there by the canyons of the river valleys. The climate is perpetually warm yet seldom too hot. The rain falls plentifully and regularly, yet with no rainy season to make life unbearable at any part of the year. There seems nothing lacking to the

development of a magnificent pastoral industry save the cattle themselves. The Americans at Del Monte now have a small herd. A part of the herd of Congresswoman Fortich escaped the Japanese slaughter. But every other animal of the several herds—themselves pitifully small for so vast a meadow-land—which were here before the war was killed for food by the Japanese during their occupation. Immigrants from the Visayan islands bring with them buffalo and *carabao*, but only one or two each ; and these are draft animals for their own farms. Few are used for commercial breeding.

The Koronadal valley, the southward continuation of the Cotabato valley beyond the watershed, is poorer. It was opened as a Government colony before the war but Government interest in it seems to have flagged. Immigrants nevertheless continue to flow in from the north and although they do not grow rich they find land and work enough to live. The Koronadal valley indeed seemed to me the most fundamentally reassuring of all the places I visited. It showed that the Filipino, despite all those faults which loom so large in Manila, despite all the sins of commission or omission of his Government, does have the energy and enterprise to live on, and even to develop the riches of his own plot of land. Roads, dwellings and all the ordinary amenities of civilization are here at their most primitive. Economy is barely above subsistence level. New settlers arrive almost penniless and receive nothing but land. Yet they survive. I saw no hunger nor begging there, and the people were more peaceful and contented than those living amid the luxuries of the capital.

Davao, the centre of the Manila hemp industry, is of greater interest to foreign business. There, when the Japanese were repatriated in 1946, great changes occurred. Squatters moved in and cut hemp indiscriminately without thought for the morrow. Exports increased for a year then dropped. Squatters who had over-cut the plantations on which they had settled could no longer move to new plantations. All were occupied and they dared not vacate nor neglect their own land lest they lose it altogether. They therefore settled down to the care of their own plants and made up their minds to continuing there for life. In 1948 production picked up ; and it is now likely to stay steady, rather below the former Japanese level, until new plantations raise it higher. The less efficient of the Filipinos soon find themselves in the clutches of the Chinese banker who helps greatly in keeping them up to the mark.

Such are the riches of Mindanao that the Filipinos, with a minimum of organization, despite their alleged laziness and almost without capital, are migrating to the island in considerable numbers and are developing its rice, corn and hemp in their own manner and on their own initiative. Their achievements vary from the bare subsistence of Koronadal to the thriving exports of Davao, but they at least prove

that Philippine productivity can continue indefinitely without external help. With help from the Government or from foreign capital the prospect would be promising indeed.

I have before me a letter from a chance aeroplane acquaintance begging me to find him the capital (£50,000) to exploit the 600 million board-feet of mahogany in his timber stand near the east coast. Many parts of the island are equally well forested. Others could grow excellent *ramie* if capital were forthcoming. The Koronadar valley would go forward wonderfully if a Government experimental farm could be established to give guidance in rice planting, fish breeding and fruit growing. The development of the Agusan rice lands needs only a modest investment to make very great progress. Perhaps more than all the rest the upland pastures cry out for stocking with herds and equipping with modern stud farms. Providence seems to have wished the country to be one of the richest of the east, and even though Manila and the central Government were to succeed in destroying themselves Mindanao would not, I believe, be brought down in their fall.

It is unlikely that the future of the country will be determined solely by the extravagance of Manila or by the wealth of Mindanao. Between the two lie extensive islands where the population presses on the limits of cultivation but where the people are peaceable and willing to work. It is from these islands that the majority of the migrants are drawn. One can therefore, perhaps, while avoiding the wilder kinds of speculation about the future, judge with reasonable assurance that the black prognostications of the younger merchants in Manila will not be wholly fulfilled.

The Government and local nationalism make it difficult for outside investors to develop the land in Mindanao. Its potential wealth is unlikely to be adequately exploited or to benefit as it ought either the Filipinos or the world at large for many years to come. But Mindanao is not the only island off the coasts of Asia crying out for development—nor is it by any means the most neglected. And it should prove henceforward an increasingly important and valuable reserve for the islanders which may well be sufficient of itself to stabilize their economy, even under the severe strains to which this must, before long, be subjected.

BALTIC NO-MAN'S LAND

BY WENDY HALL

FIVE months have passed since the Atlantic Pact was signed. Then many political commentators forecast that Norway's decision to sign would lead to the northern countries being engulfed in the cold war, and that Finland, and perhaps Sweden, would have to pay the price of Norwegian independence and resistance to Russia. To-day the extension of the cold front is still awaited. In the Swedish press the Atlantic Pact and its implications are still hotly debated, and the Swedish people look anxiously across the Baltic to Finland. The Finns watch Sweden, but with less anxiety. Ten years of struggle and hardship, and a job still to be done, have taught them not to care too much for the imponderables of the morrow. But each country balances precariously in the scales of power politics. If Finland is drawn further eastward, perhaps Sweden will move further westward; if Sweden moves further westward, perhaps Finland will be drawn further eastward.

Meanwhile each of these countries is, in a sense, a no-man's land, a phenomenon in a sharply divided world. Alone of the countries under the Russian aegis Finland enjoys complete internal freedom and a completely democratic form of Government. No iron curtain runs through the Baltic, and the Finns are determined that none should ever be drawn between them and the west. Alone, with the exception of Switzerland, of the countries wholeheartedly oriented towards the west in thought and practice, Sweden nervously refuses to commit herself, and equally nervously ponders on the consequences of neutrality. But can Finland and Sweden, whose fortunes have been interdependent for so long, preserve indefinitely their balance between two worlds ?

Finland is the great enigma of the eastern half of Europe. Her democratic institutions have been preserved intact since the Armistice in 1944. Within her borders there is no direct Russian influence to be seen or felt. In her Communist Party the hand of Moscow may stretch out as it does even to countries further west, but beyond that Finland remains free and independent in her internal affairs, while consciously and conscientiously subservient to the Kremlin in foreign politics.

The freely-elected Social Democrat Government, which last year

succeeded the coalition in which the communists participated, set out three basic points in its programme. First, it demands faithful observance of the terms of the peace treaty with the Soviet Union. Secondly, it follows the lead of President Paasikivi in laying down that, in foreign affairs, Finland must never cross the Russian path. Thirdly, and surprisingly, it sets its face openly against any increase in communist power and influence inside Finland. In putting into practice this last point, it must fight a determined battle; but in carrying out the first two, it is wholeheartedly supported by the whole country.

Indeed, without the support of the great mass of the people, Finland could never have succeeded as she has in the dual task of reconstructing a sorely battered country and in building up new industries to meet Russian demands for reparations. On the engineering and metallurgical industries rests the responsibility for two-thirds of the reparation payments in kind. Yet before the war these industries scarcely existed. Their exports accounted only for four per cent. of the total value of Finnish exports, while machinery and apparatus alone represented about 20 per cent. of all Finnish imports. In the immediate post-war years, Finland had to buy abroad, with her limited resources, electrical and engineering products which were then handed on to Russia as reparations. To-day she has reconstructed these industries, trained the workers she needs, and, by a supreme effort, managed to maintain deliveries and avoid the fine which the Russians impose when deliveries fall behind the scheduled date. About ten per cent. of the skilled workers—a high figure in a country whose total industrial population is only 400,000—is working on reparations. And in some branches of the metal industries, the figure is as high as 80 per cent. of the total pay roll.

To-day, too, as a result of a long, careful and painstaking programme, Finland has reached an adequate stage of domestic recovery. Over the past year rationing has gradually disappeared, and now clothing and all food except coffee and sugar are coupon-free. Only living space, strictly rationed on the basis of one room a person, is acutely scarce, and is likely to remain so as long as labour continues to be drawn off from the building trades into the export industries.

“Never to cross the Soviet path.” In carrying out this second object, the Finns have shown political wisdom and realism. They are careful to tell you that the Russians have always been very “correct” (although they do not inform you that Moscow Radio lambasts the Finns with unflinching regularity); they add, with a certain amount of justifiable pride, that they too, have been very “correct”. Instinct, or sound common sense, tells them just how far they dare go in foreign affairs, particularly in their relations with

the west, without crossing the Soviet path. Unlike the Czechs, they made no attempt to participate in the Marshall Plan once Moscow had made its position clear. On the other hand, in many of the United Nations agencies, Finland is allowed to remain as the sole representative of Eastern Europe.

The Governments of the Scandinavian countries fully concur with the judgment "correct". Before the war Finland co-operated wholly with the three Scandinavian countries in joint discussions and action in many fields. Now those fields are considerably limited, and the Finns know that defence, politics and economics are strictly out of bounds. But Scandinavia agrees that never on a single occasion has Finland embarrassed either side by a word out of place. Yet the long-standing ties between Finland and the Scandinavian States have not been weakened by this inevitable decline in active co-operation.

Finnish foreign policy can be summed up—in so far as the Finns are free to have a foreign policy of their own—as a determination to maintain all possible ties, first with Scandinavia, then with western Europe, then with the United States, but without formal commitments. To join, for instance, in the discussions on the Scandinavian Customs Union—as they would certainly have done before the war—or in O.E.E.C., they would interpret as "crossing the Soviet path"; but informal co-operation and stronger trade relations they regard as illegitimate and possible. On the other hand, they fear that the increasing economic organization of the west may isolate them to some extent. Since 56 per cent. of Finland's trade in 1947 was done with Marshall Europe, and since Great Britain is now, as before the war, Finland's most important single customer, such isolation would not only be economically disastrous, but would force her politically into the arms of the Soviet Union.

Thirdly comes the paradox of the anti-communist campaign. This the Finns in no way interpret as crossing the Soviet path. "We", they say, "are not concerned with what goes on inside Russia. Nor are the Russians concerned with what goes on inside Finland." In this statement there may be a hint of bravado, but the Social Democrat Party nevertheless wages against Communism a battle as thorough as that waged in any western European country to-day. And unlike many western European countries, they fight the communists with their own weapons. Just as there are communist cells and channels of information in the factories so too there are social democrat cells, contacts and channels through which information flows daily.

This battle reached its peak in the abortive wave of strikes launched by the communist-dominated unions in August this year. Although they resulted in the secession of seven unions from the Finnish

T.U.C., they were generally regarded as a major setback for the communists, whose leaders themselves openly admitted failure. At the time of writing it was thought possible that the dissident unions might trickle back one by one into the central organization. But in any case, it is unlikely that the communists will manage to retain complete control of the 100,000 workers—one third of Finland's total trade union membership—in their seven unions. The Finnish Communist Party has given its total membership as 55,000. In responsible quarters it is estimated at about 25,000—from which it can be deduced that the communists are not numerically important in the seceding unions, and that there will inevitably be further schisms inside, leading to a return of some of the workers to the social democrat organization.

Meanwhile the strikes have thrown some interesting sidelights on the complexity of Russo-Finnish-Cominform relations. The communist unions, directed according to the Cominform's over-all plan, would willingly have drawn in the metal workers and impaired relations with Russia by holding up reparation deliveries. On the other hand, the workers in one Russian-owned factory were eager to strike, but their communist leader, acting presumably on the advice of his employers, ordered them to continue work. Russo-Finnish relations have throughout the strike period been maintained at a fairly equitable level, and at the end of June, when the August strike campaign was certainly already planned, the Finns received far more favourable terms than the other signatories to the trade treaty signed between Russia and Finland, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

In other fields, the Government makes a firm stand against Communism. This summer the woman director-general of the Finnish Radio Corporation was peremptorily dismissed from her post on the grounds that her sympathies lay too much with Russia. Impartiality, claimed the governors, was the pre-requisite of the job. In the economic field the Government directs all its efforts toward the maintenance of relatively full employment. The experience of many years has taught them that in Finland, no less than elsewhere, Communism thrives on unemployment. This summer's devaluation of the Finnish currency was part of the general programme to maintain exports and minimize the threat of unemployment.

Whether the Finns can preserve this degree of internal freedom is the great question mark which broods over the Northern countries, for the whole of Scandinavia has a stake in Finnish liberty. For the time being, it seems to suit the Russians to exploit Finnish industry for their own ends, to get from Finland supplies which the Balkan satellites could not provide, and with them, the important naval base at Porkkala-Udd and an Arctic outlet at Petsamo. But what will the Russians think when deliveries of reparations are completed in 1952 ?

Then Finland will find herself in an economic vacuum, since nearly 40 per cent. of her total non-domestic output goes to Russia in the form of reparations. Few Finns are optimistic about finding new markets in the west for that 40 per cent.; they hope that Russia will continue to take a large proportion of the same goods as free exports. That means that Russia will still have the whip-hand; ultimately the Soviet economic grip can become a stranglehold, the rouble being the mighty factor which will determine Finland's position.

And on Finland's position depends, to a large extent, Sweden's neutrality. That, at least, is the argument on which the Swedish Government bases its policy, and the only one whose validity is recognized even by the most violent opponents of neutrality. Finland was for centuries a Swedish province, and many of her institutions are still shared with Sweden, while ten per cent. of her population speak Swedish as their first language. Sweden often speaks of Finland as "a Swedish hostage in Russian hands" and this emotional argument serves to bolster up the more self-interested and practical strategic argument. "If Sweden joins the Atlantic powers," it is reasoned, "Russia will tighten her grip over Finland. Should she occupy Finland, she will reach our own borders. And should she ever declare war on the Atlantic powers, Sweden will be the first country to be attacked. The chances of our avoiding being drawn into another war are almost nil. But initial neutrality would give us a few days, perhaps a few weeks, to prepare our positions." The small but vocal band of opponents of neutrality answer that, factual and reasonable as this argument may be, it means, if carried to its logical conclusion, that Sweden's policy is dictated from Moscow. Equally they maintain that the Finnish argument is far outweighed by the power of collective security, as offered by the Atlantic Pact, to prevent the outbreak of war.

In recent months the Swedish Government has, however, modified her thesis that the Atlantic Pact would increase the danger of war; its inclination to appease Moscow, as Germany was appeased during the early years of the 1939-1945 war, is also waning, and the immediate post-war disposition to regard Moscow and Washington as equally good or bad has disappeared. But there remains a certain irresponsible conviction that there is no need to sign a pact, because help from the west would be forthcoming in any case, if Sweden were attacked. The Minister of Defence, who is frequently an embarrassment to his own party, has gone so far as to say that Sweden can get weapons from the west by threatening to fight on the other side if they are refused. This threat, however, can be discounted, since the idea of fighting against Britain and the U.S.A.—and with them Norway and Denmark—is thoroughly repulsive to the most isolationist of Swedes.

Viewed from a purely practical standpoint, the Finnish argument presents the most valid and important basis for Swedish neutrality ; but on the psychological side neutrality is, if not an article of faith, at least a deep-rooted national habit which has proved its worth on two occasions. Some Swedes will tell you : " The Swede believes neither in God nor the Devil. He only believes in neutrality." Others say that neutrality is more a reflection of the national character, the ultimate expression of tolerance and an ability to see both sides of a question.

Yet at heart every Swede (always with the exception of the small Communist Party membership) is completely oriented to the west, sharing with the western nations a firm belief in democratic institutions, and more than ever opposed to any form of dictatorship. Hence the Government's opponents affirm that the wearing of the cloak of neutrality represents a moral danger to the national character, that no country can indefinitely compromise between belief and expediency and come through unscathed. And they add the more practical point that in the purchase of war materials Sweden will now be sent to the end of the queue, and so not be able adequately to prepare the defence which she realizes is necessary.

It is impossible to predict how long Swedish neutrality can be maintained, how long Finnish independence can be preserved, how long each country can remain a no man's land. In the case of Finland, the answer depends on Russia. In the case of Sweden, as opinion stands to-day, it also depends on Russia, but at a stage further removed. And Russia, who has consistently opposed a Scandinavian bloc, consistently sought after a weak, divided and neutral north, may persist in this policy, now of nearly ten years' standing. Whether Sweden and Finland remain undisturbed buffers, or whether they become bones of contention between east and west, will probably suit the Kremlin equally well. The strategy of cold war too, demands its no man's land.

(The author has been spending much of the summer in Helsinki and Stockholm.)

THE GAUCHO

BY GEORGE PENDLE

It is my pride that I live as free
As the bird in the sky ;
I make no nest on this earth
Where there is so much to suffer ;
And there is no one to follow me
When I take flight.

In love affairs I have no one
To come to me complaining.
Like those lovely birds
That hop from branch to branch
I make my bed in the trebol tree
Covered by the stars.

THE verses in *Martín Fierro* have an olde worlde air to-day, for the gaucho is extinct as a human type. "Progress" is now synonymous with "industrialization", and a man's worth is judged, not by his horsemanship or his skill with knife, lasso and guitar, nor even by his success as a lady-killer, but by the smartness of the suit that he wears and the elegance of his automobile. The isolated mud hut in the midst of the pampa cannot compete with the up-to-date suburban villa. The stars of the wide South American sky are outshone by the fluorescent lighting of the city streets and the glamour of the *ciné*. This change of values, this great transformation in the pattern of Argentine life, is not a matter of merely local significance : indeed, it has even had some effect upon the meat-eating habits of the British people.

Although Argentina still raises gigantic herds of cattle, the exportable surplus of meat is declining year by year. There is a single reason for this decline. Cattle-raising has lost its prestige, so that while the Argentine urban populations have been constantly growing in size and in their standard of living and their appetite for meat, the production of cattle has not increased proportionately. In fact, if dairy cattle are excluded, the total head of cattle in the republic to-day is approximately the same as in 1937 ; but whereas the local consumption in 1937 was about four and a half million head, it will be about six million head in 1949. And domestic consumption will continue to rise in the future, though it may suffer periodical

setbacks due to inflation and economic slumps.

Of course the gaucho did not vanish overnight, and the Argentine meat industry reached its peak of power and prosperity long after his disappearance ; but the same process of "westernization" and "modernization" which, in its early stages, gradually destroyed the gaucho, has subsequently been depriving the wealthy cattle-breeders of their pre-eminence in the life of the nation. Now that he has been exterminated, the gaucho has become a symbolic figure in the River Plate area and, to those individuals who deplore the growing materialism and regimentation of modern society, something of an inspiration.

It seems probable that there was formerly a Spanish architectural term, *gaucho*, indicating a rough and irregular surface, and that the Spaniards who travelled to the Rio de la Plata used this word to describe the half-Indian horsemen whom they found there.* The gaucho was a nomad of the plains, untutored and independent, quick of hand and eye. He was indifferent to his neighbour's life, and he constantly risked his own ; but even in his most lawless exploits he was "loyal to his own law." He was the human expression of the vast and desolate pampa. "Bearing allegiance neither to thing nor king" he followed the fate of the livestock of the colony. When the cattle escaped control, he too declared himself free, running wild and beyond the pale of even nominal domestication. Sir Herbert Gibson, an "Anglo-Argentine" who himself lived the life of the "camp", wrote of the gaucho : "The pampa was his home, and in his ears the breeze moving over the plains whispered to him of liberty." When, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Spanish rule was overthrown and the republics declared their independence, "the gaucho, inured by his style of living to the stress of weather and to the struggle with savage animals, became the right hand of the petty chiefs of party faction, ever joining whatever group was in conflict with the ruling power. The words law and order signified for him oppression and servitude, and he became the declared enemy of all authority."†

The gaucho hated central rule, and he therefore had to invade the centre—Buenos Aires—and overcome it. This conquest was achieved by the gaucho dictator, Juan Manuel de Rosas, who ruthlessly governed Buenos Aires and the surrounding Federation from 1839 to 1852. He ruled bloodily and honestly, after the gaucho fashion. The rival gaucho leaders, who had been splitting up the young nation by their reckless forays, surrendered to him. "The harbour of Buenos Aires filled with sands, the schools closed and the academies

* Another explanation of the word *gaucho* is suggested on a later page.

† Herbert Gibson, in a monograph attached to the Argentine Agricultural and Pastoral Census of 1908.

decayed." During this period of terror, Rosas imposed the reality of the pampa upon the capital city. He forged the Argentine spirit and, thereby, unwittingly, initiated the decline of the gauchos themselves. He worked with such savagery, that it became inevitable his foes should succeed him. And so it was, that when Rosas had been driven into exile (he died in England), power fell into the hands of poets and historians, rationalists and educators. The gauchos were still a vital force in the country ; they still fought against authority, and harried the State ; but Rosas had fused them into the life of the new Argentina, and it was already apparent that the new Argentina would dominate them in the end.

The most determined opponent of the gaucho was Argentina's great liberal-democrat statesman, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888). Sarmiento's aim was to mould Argentina into a republic on the European model. For him, the lawless gaucho was the antithesis of the citizen of his dreams. It was necessary to tame the gaucho, just as the gaucho himself had tamed the cattle and the horses. Yet Sarmiento was a man of the Rio de la Plata, and even as he fought the gaucho he was fascinated by him. His literary masterpiece, *Facundo* * is, paradoxically, a gaucho classic. In this book the author refers to the gaucho as "an outlaw, a squatter, a kind of misanthrope" ; but he adds : "the name of outlaw is not applied to him wholly as an uncomplimentary epithet. The law has been for many years in pursuit of him. His name is dreaded—spoken under the breath, but not in hate, almost respectfully." Sarmiento next describes the skill of the gaucho in evading the police, and he remarks with admiration : "The poets of the vicinity add each new exploit to the biography of the desert hero, and his renown flies through all the vast regions around."

Nevertheless, the gaucho could not resist the pressure of the State. He could not survive the spread of education and the overwhelming flood of European immigrants. His hitherto boundless domain was cut up into huge but frustrating rectangular areas by fencing : horizontal wires which divided, subdivided, marked and defined the limits of his coming and going. The railways, ever advancing, enabled wealthy landowners to exercise an increasing control upon territories which formerly had been too remote for centralized supervision. José Hernández, whose epic poem *Martín Fierro* began to appear in print† while Sarmiento was President of Argentina, had himself been a horseman of the plains. He had taken part in the last attempt of the gauchos to dominate Buenos Aires and to unite the country in their own roaming and irregular manner. That

* Published in 1845.

† The first part of *Martín Fierro* was published in 1872, the second in 1878.

final rising failed. The horsemen were overcome. The poem laments the defeat and the constant molestations which the gaucho suffered at the hands of the servants of the State in their efforts to organize and incorporate him into the new order.

Some of the qualities of the gaucho survived in the agricultural labourer of the early twentieth century, as a British author showed in a book published in 1917 :

The *peón* is a very free and easy and light-hearted kind of person. When he has accumulated a few *pesos* of wages he will take himself off to the nearest store or township and indulge in such dissipation as the place affords. When he gets tired of this or has exhausted the immediate circle of his friends, he will return to work on the property on which he left off ; or somewhere else should he find himself not so well received on his return as he had hoped. These men are strong and wiry, capable of spurts of very hard work indeed. Severity in an employer they will take with perfect good humour ; but any affected superiority, or "side", will meet with a very contemptuous resentment.

The Argentine *peón* inherits much of the ready wit and extraordinary gift of repartee of his immediate ancestor, the gaucho. With him, however, a concertina has taken the place of the guitar. But as a bachelor he is the same flirtatious, lady-killing scamp ; loving often and riding away from, most frequently, instead of with, the lady of his ephemeral choice.

The gaucho was a picturesque figure in his *chiripá*, or festal, wide-bottomed, lace-frilled trousers, a broad leathern girdle studded with silver coins and his silver-mounted high-pommelled saddle. The *chiripá* and girdle remain ; and one may still see a camp dandy glorious on feast-days in a saddle adorned with silver mountings. But the cowboy utility of the gaucho waned with the advent of scientific farming. He had no taste or aptitude for such new-fangled ideas ; and now his sons are mostly to be found in the army, the police, or that very useful body of firemen, the corps of *bomberos*, men who can be relied upon at any moment to quell a fire or a riot in their own very effective way. They fear neither flames nor turbulent strikers, and are only too ready, in the case of the latter, to shoot first and listen to orders afterwards.*

As the Europeanization of Argentina progressed, so did a local reaction develop. The economic slumps of 1922 and 1930, while they discouraged the cattle breeders, caused the general public to begin to deplore their country's dependence on European markets. Well before 1930, disillusionment was growing among the writers of Argentina. Books had been arriving from Europe and the U.S.A. in which highly-respected authors exposed the inhuman qualities of western civilization and prophesied its decay. Spengler, D. H. Lawrence and Waldo Frank—for example—were eagerly read. Artists, who had previously been dazzled by the European achievement, began to look at their own land more closely. And so it was

* *Argentina and Uruguay*, by Gordon Ross.

that in 1925 Ricardo Güiraldes, a 'highbrow' poet known only to the little groups and in the small magazines, unexpectedly produced the book that the people had been waiting for. Güiraldes' *Don Segundo Sombra** is the most popular of all Argentine novels. It is a novel of the pampa, of the "camp" that the Europeanizers could not abolish, and of the gaucho spirit that has not yet completely disappeared. In this book Martín Fierro, under another name, is brought back to life after his long neglect—brought back to the imagination of the men and women who work in factories and offices and who in the warm evenings sit in wicker chairs on their suburban verandahs.

The revival of the gaucho as a symbolic figure, however, has not been accompanied by a renewal of the prestige of his occupation, which is still out of fashion. Traditionally, the breeding of cattle is a conservative pursuit. Inevitably, it runs a leisurely course, for it requires long-term vision and cannot produce quick results. It is not a flexible industry: supplies cannot be rapidly augmented, and lavish slaughter to satisfy a sudden demand would deplete the reserves of livestock for many years to come. The life of the estancia is healthy and exhilarating, but is governed by outmoded habits and is out of harmony alike with the modern conception of progress and the policy of General Perón. In his earliest political statements, in 1945, Juan D. Perón made it quite clear that he intended to break the power of the conservative *estancieros* and that he considered their dependence on foreign markets "unpatriotic". Temporary setbacks may occur, but the real "independent" future of Argentina is to be attained by industrialization, and the ultimate aim of *Peronismo* is that the republic shall manufacture everything that it needs and consume all, or nearly all, the food and raw material that its soil produces. The meat industry has always been subject to foreign emergencies and whims. The slumps that occurred between the wars—our wars—have not been forgotten by the cattle-men and have in themselves discouraged any large-scale increase in cattle-breeding, such as was effected during the 1914-1918 war and found to be excessive soon afterwards. But to alien vagaries have now been added deterrents at home. The cattle-breeder is at the mercy of Government negotiators, bureaucratic regulations, and the uncertain demands of the *frigoríficos*, with their own special interests and labour problems. So at the moment when Argentina needs more meat for herself and for the world, all the pressures tend to aggravate the shortage.

The Argentines find it difficult to understand that their production of meat is limited. They have seen the boundless pastures and the

* A translation of *Don Segundo Sombra* was published by Penguin Books in 1948.

enormous herds and they are still inclined to believe that cattle are as plentiful as in the days when Sarmiento wrote : " Whenever the gaucho wants a tongue for his meal, he lassoes a cow, throws her without assistance, kills her, takes his favourite morsel and leaves the rest to the carrion birds." But to-day that superabundance is just as much a legend as is the gaucho himself. Meat supplies are regulated by the gaucho's modern descendants : the politicians and bureaucrats—albeit *descamisados*—of Buenos Aires.

Yet even upon the urban careerist, the extinct gaucho exerts his influence. The gaucho was unhappy both in his origin and in his fate. The word *gaucho*, indeed, is often claimed to be of Quichuan Indian derivation, signifying, in a denigratory sense, an orphan, a lost soul, a worthless vagabond. Of course the gaucho was the offspring of the conquistador and the Indian woman, whom the Spanish invader subjugated, but rarely married, and, as a remarkable Argentine author, Carlos Octavio Bunge, wrote : " He was from birth an orphan of civilization."* This element of misfortune was aggravated by the rapid advance of " civilization " itself, and was matched by the character of the countryside over which the gaucho roamed. The vast empty space of the pampa is melancholy scenery, and the monotonous songs that originated in the pampa are known as *tristes*, *laments*. The infinite promise of the pampa is never quite fulfilled, the horizon is never reached, and El Dorado is a deception—as it was for Voltaire's *Candide*. The gaucho in his wanderings was hunted by Justice, imprisoned for disorderliness, despised for being illiterate and penniless. But he had his revenge : he communicated the sadness of the pampa, and of his own origin and decline, to the teeming populations of the towns. The melancholy of the *triste* is repeated in the tango. The mirage of the pampa's deceptive horizon is reflected in the chromium-plated cities of to-day. Raúl Scalabrini Ortíz† has defined the typical modern citizen of Buenos Aires as *el hombre que está solo, y espera*, " the man who is alone, and who waits ", or it may be " hopes ", for the Spanish verb *esperar* means both " to hope " and " to wait ". Viscount Bryce said of the gaucho quality, that " it is felt through all classes of Uruguayan society " and this is true also of Argentine society. Bryce continued, that the characteristics of the gaucho's influence were " a high sense of personal dignity, an immense hopefulness, an impulsive readiness to try all experiments, and a national consciousness none the less intense because it already rejoices over the triumphs it is going to achieve."‡ So to the sadness is added hopefulness. The tango

* *Neutra America*, by Carlos Octavio Bunge, Buenos Aires, 1903.

† *El Hombre Que Está Solo y Espera*, Buenos Aires, 1931.

‡ *South America*, by James Bryce, 1912.

is a lament :

Brother, what things
there are in life !
I didn't love her
when I met her ;
until, one night,
she said to me, determined :
I'm very tired
of it all, and went away . . ."

But the counterpoint is inspired by hope :

Little village of the pampa,
it is pleasant to see you so :
with electricity, petrol pump,
and girls dressed in the latest fashion

Little American village,
you are living in the times :
' the last word ' is not the store, but the teashop where a gramophone
howls every afternoon the popular tangos

Little village :
you were a joy to the foreigners,
the square was an enlargement of the home,
and the terrifying drains in your streets
were an agreeable nuisance

Little village :
in your bowels the progress of America germinates*

* *Mucho Cielo*, by Arturo Cambours Ocampo.

IRANIAN OIL CONCESSIONS—II

BY HANS HEYMANN

IN August 1944, negotiations for oil concessions were started in Teheran by western and eastern interests, ushering in a period that was soon to involve the "Big Three" represented at Teheran in the greatest international post-war crisis so far experienced. When the representatives of British interests (Royal Dutch Shell) and of American interests (Sinclair and Socony Vacuum) negotiated for an oil concession in the south-east of Iran (in the presence of the American petroleum consulting firm, Hoover, Curtice and Rubey, engaged by the Iranian Government) at that time, their efforts were paralleled by a Soviet delegation seeking concessions in the north.

Sergei Kavtaradze, Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs, supported by a staff of 93 technical and administrative experts, argued that Soviet co-operation in the exploration and development of the northern Iranian oil regions would be the most logical thing in the world. Iran was lacking the technical knowledge and means. Location close to the U.S.S.R. with excellent transportation facility and with Soviet Russia as the natural market would make Soviet sharing in the development of the natural oil resources of Iran imperative. The Russians pointed to the frustrated efforts of the Sinclair Oil Company in 1922, when the American interests had to abandon a concession there because only Russia could provide for transit shipment through the Soviet Union. They implied that such facilities would be granted by the Russians only in an over-all oil understanding with the west, with which they were soon to be involved in a bitter fight for the world oil markets, outbidding the leading world concerns. In 1936 a similar concession had been negotiated for the north and north-east of Iran by a holding company for American interests under the name of the Amiranian Oil Company, and equally renounced. It had become clear since then, that (even with the nearness to greatly improved transport facilities, built during the 1939-1945 war by American engineers) the west could hardly ever compete there with the Soviets mainly for reasons of environment, markets, transportation and costs.

If Mr. Kavtaradze's arguments were correct, the "retreat" of the Soviets from northern Iran under pressure of the United Nations'

Security Council in 1946, would appear to-day in a somewhat different light. Anyhow, to the present day the Soviets seem to feel safe in their assumption that the final settlement with the west will bring them a satisfactory apportionment of oil resources and in that settlement northern Iranian deposits will become their natural sphere of interest.

When oil concessions in Iran are negotiated it is not unusual to include in the contracts exploration and exploitation rights for all mineral resources, ores as well as oil. This also pertains to Iraq and other regions of the Middle East if other minerals as well as oil are present or the aspirants for concessions so desire. Several concession contracts of the 'thirties and 'forties between the Iranian Government and the Netherlands Exploitatie Maatschappij in the Hague (with branch offices in Dutch East and West Indies) comprise the exploration and exploitation of all minerals (oils and ores) in the areas in middle and southern Iran and also on two islands in the Persian Gulf, Farur and Laraq.

The fact that other oil concerns did not have rights to minerals other than oil stipulated in their contracts merely indicates that they may not have been interested in any minerals other than oil. There is nothing suspicious on these grounds, therefore, in Russian negotiations for extensive and complete rights in all mineral deposits of northern Iran. But the Government of Iran was somehow over-awed by the size of the Soviet delegation and spoke about an "economic-political monopoly" the Russians were seeking. Said Maraghei, the Premier, found it safer to avoid negotiations with either the Soviets or the British-American interests as long as their troops were still in the country. When Mr. Hoover and Mr. Curtice had left, the clash between east and west became obvious for the first time and for the first time "leftist" and "rightist" factions entered into Iranian politics. It was in 1944 that the Tudeh Party openly emerged as an agency of Soviet foreign policy,

On October 17 it started demonstrations and a press campaign against the Prime Minister. Mr. Kavtaradze, on behalf of the Soviet oil group, declared that his disloyal and unfriendly attitude "excludes any possibility of further co-operation with him." *Istvestia* challenged the right, assumed by the United States, to keep American troops on Iranian soil. The official, legal position was that the U.S. Army was never *officially* in Iran. All relationships were handled through the British, who were signatories of the 1942 Treaty. The U.S. Army legally was therefore a component of the army of the United Kingdom—like Polish and Indian troops; the Red Army was there by a legal fiction also.

When Premier Said resigned, followed by his cabinet, he was succeeded by Mustafa Goli Khan Bayat. The Majlis (parliament)

passed a law on December 3, 1944, forbidding Iranian officials to sign any oil contract with official or private representatives of foreign powers, whether they were neighbours or not. The Soviet leaders, conscious of their power and prestige gained in the war, thereupon made the grant of northern Iranian oil concessions a condition for a restitution of friendly relations with Iran. During December the Iranian Government therefore took into consideration the Russian project of an "Iranian Corporation for the exploration and exploitation of mineral resources in Northern Iran with the assistance of Soviet capital, machinery and technical advice." The Soviet oil delegation was quick to express its appreciation of this gesture of co-operation and the spirit of friendship it represented and offered to provide the Iranian administration with experts and technicians in all fields of public service, and assistance in the administration of the country. Such assistance by the Soviets would include the right to build a pipe line to the Persian Gulf and permission to guard the pipe line with a cordon of troops along the corridor of the line. This demand to station troops along the pipe lines meant the indefinite presence of Red Army forces in Iran. Though Mr. Hoover and Mr. Curtice did not advise against oil concessions to the Soviets in northern Iran as a matter of principle, they raised the question of the country's sovereignty and negotiations came to a dead end.

The Soviet-inspired uprisings of November and December 1945 in Azerbaijan which now followed were the signal for the approaching climax in international tension. Moscow broadcast to the world that a revolutionary national government of Iranian Azerbaijan had been established in north-western Iran under the leadership of Jaafar Pishevari, head of the Tudeh Party in Azerbaijan. This was renamed the "Democratic Party": its programme provided that Azerbaijan was not to be separated from Iran; Provincial Councils devised in the 1907 constitution were to be organized; Turki was to be taught in the schools; Azerbaijan representation in the Majlis was to be increased; and fifty per cent. of local taxes were to be spent in Azerbaijan.

On January 23, 1946, Ahmad Qavam As-Saltaneh took over as Prime Minister of Iran. A wealthy landlord with large estates in Gilan, he showed himself prepared to negotiate with the Soviets. On January 30 the Security Council of the United Nations then referred the Azerbaijan incident to "direct negotiations" between the parties concerned in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

After the formation of a cabinet acceptable to the Majlis, Ahmad Qavam left for Moscow to discuss the disputes with the Soviet Union as the Security Council had advised. When, during the subsequent negotiations, the Moscow radio announced that on March 2 Soviet troops would be evacuated from regions where the

situation was not disquieting, that is, the eastern part of Iran, but that in other parts of Iran Soviet forces would stay "until the situation has been elucidated"—interpreted by Ahmad Qavam as meaning until the Soviet demands for oil concessions and control had been accepted by Iran—he complained in Washington, *via* the Iranian Ambassador Hussein Ala, that the Soviets had acted counter to treaty obligations. As the Soviets evidenced no move to withdraw troops but on the contrary strengthened their forces with combat troops and also fortified the autonomous Azerbaijan Government with arms previously taken from Iranian arsenals, on March 7 the United States, through diplomatic action, asked the Soviet Union to withdraw her troops from Iran.

Upon his return from Moscow the Prime Minister forced the opposition to a settlement with the Soviets. The world thought that Iran was going to side with the U.S.S.R. In retrospect, however, Ahmad Qavam seems to have planned to conciliate the Soviets by securing the evacuation of Azerbaijan, by removing the anti-Soviet party and the hostile Majlis, and by offering an Azerbaijan settlement in negotiating oil concessions with the Soviets. Soon the U.S. Department of State was issuing this communiqué: "Reports have been received to the effect that during the last week Soviet armed forces and heavy military combat equipment have been moving southward from the direction of the Soviet frontier through Tabriz toward Teheran and toward the western border of Iran. This government has inquired of the Soviet Government whether such movements have taken place, and if so, the reasons therefor." No answer was given to the United States notes.

With a renewed appeal to the Security Council to meet in New York on March 25, the stage was set for an interplay of diplomatic action. All Iran wanted was to be left alone. All the United States wanted was for Iran to have an end to threats against her that might lead to a unilateral domination of that country. This was also the British attitude, which wanted the doorway to India protected against unilateral domination by any power except Iran. The Soviet Union continuously refused to abide by the Treaty and other obligations. If the Russians found it necessary to insist on their traditional desire to gain an "ice-free port on the Persian Gulf," why not negotiate by peaceful means through the United Nations for a transit port, or some such arrangement, as part of a cold war or cold peace settlement? The United Nations settled Iran's problem for her, when she turned to that international forum, though it was the kind of power conflict UNO was hardly equipped to handle.

When Andrei Gromyko for the Soviet Union proposed a postponement of the Council meeting until April 10 because of the pending negotiations between Moscow and Teheran, the American

delegate protested and no action was taken. Before the end of a meeting on March 24 the Soviet Government announced that the contending parties had agreed that within six weeks troops would be evacuated from Iran, the latest by May 6 ; and at the Council meeting on March 26, Mr. Gromyko moved that the Iranian appeal be eliminated from the agenda. After an extensive debate this was voted down. What really had been demanded by the U.S.S.R. in Iran was disclosed next day by Hussein Ala, the Iranian Ambassador :

- (1) Soviet Troops to continue to stay in parts of Iran for an indefinite period.
- (2) The Iranian Government to recognize the autonomy of Azerbaijan.
- (3) In lieu of a Soviet oil concession an Irano-Soviet joint stock company to be held by the Soviet Government.

As it became obvious that in fact an agreement had not yet been reached, the Security Council requested that both contending Governments inform the Security Council no later than April 3 about the actual state of negotiations and whether the reported withdrawal of Soviet forces from Iran was made dependent upon other conditions. On the receipt of unsatisfactory reports the Security Council passed a motion that further consideration of the Iranian incident would be postponed until May 6.

Before the term expired a public announcement was made jointly in Teheran by the Iranian Premier and the Soviet Ambassador, declaring a complete agreement on all points :

- (1) Soviet forces would evacuate all Iranian territory within one and a half months from March 24.
- (2) An agreement for a joint Iranian-Soviet oil company and its terms would be submitted to the Majlis for approval within seven months after March 24.
- (3) The Azerbaijan question, being an internal matter, would be settled between the Government and the people of Azerbaijan, in accordance with existing laws and in a benevolent spirit towards the people of Azerbaijan.

There was then renewed pressure by the Soviets to withdraw the whole incident, which was later approved by the Iranian representative because certain evacuations had occurred. As the Iranian Government had no control over Azerbaijan, however, it could not assure the Council whether total evacuation had actually taken place. So, the case was deferred until May 20. But Soviet pressure in the Azerbaijan province further increased and skirmishes between troops of both camps took place. On May 21, however, the Iranian Ambassador was instructed from Teheran to declare before the Council that certain parts of Iran seemed to have been evacuated. Then the Soviet Government, ignoring the Council altogether, issued a press announcement that evacuation had been completed

by May 9. The Iranian Government now formally requested the Council to remove the case from the agenda ; but the Council still declined and so the appeal rested.

Though uniformed Soviet forces had actually retired from Azerbaijan Province, they had left war material and a few thousand Soviet-trained men behind in civilian clothes to " support " the independent government of Azerbaijan. When the tension had lessened sufficiently negotiations between the Government of Azerbaijan and the Iranian Government led to a paper dissolution of " autonomous " Azerbaijan and her re-incorporation as a province. It was nevertheless impossible for Iran to exercise full authority as long as Soviet pressure and support of the Azerbaijan independents prevailed.

Why the Soviets now reversed their policy in Iran and left the Iranian pro-Soviet factions in the lurch is not so easily explained. Many reasons have been advanced, ranging from the health of Marshal Stalin to disharmony within the Politburo and from political setbacks in Italy and Yugoslavia to the firmer stand of Great Britain and the United States. One of the main motives may be found in the oil situation, for Russia had not yet lessened her pressure for an execution of the oil concession.

In July a serious strike in Southern Iran broke out in the area of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company but the Iranian army declared martial law and broke it up. The British were not in Iran, but brought up reserve forces into Iraq, across the river. Soviet Russia then asked for execution or at least provisional granting of the oil concession on October 2 ; but Ahmad Qavam pointed to the agreement of April 1946 in which he had promised to submit the joint stock company proposal to the Majlis within seven months. In December, disregarding warnings of the Soviet Government, Iranian Government troops marched into Azerbaijan, the resistance of the Azerbaijan Government broke down, and Soviet political pressure in Iran gave way to less conspicuous forms (as witnessed by the notes of the spring of 1948, invoking the 1921 treaty).

The Premier meanwhile formed his own Iran Democratic Party and the Tudeh Party disintegrated. But he must have over-estimated the prestige he had gained from the happy ending of the Azerbaijan incident, and the Shah actually reaped most of the glory and popular affection. The elections for a new Majlis were scheduled for the summer, but the Azerbaijan Democratic régime refused to allow Government officials entrance to Azerbaijan to conduct the elections. Ahmad Qavam insisted that they could not be held until the central Government had its authority recognized in Azerbaijan. In December 1946—despite further Soviet interference in the form of warnings, even after an official declaration that the Azerbaijan affair was a matter of internal concern, of interest only to Iran—he ordered

troops into Azerbaijan so as to insure Government authority, and hold elections. The Majlis convened in the summer of 1947 ; and among the first acts Qavam presented the oil agreement.

Once Iranian nationalist authority had re-established itself and an acute danger from the Soviet north had subsided, Iran asked for reassurance of American (and British) support in case the Soviets should try an enforcement of the oil concession. In more complete terms the U.S. Ambassador, Mr. George V. Allen, indicated in his statement of October 1947 that " if Iran of her own free will grants oil concessions that is her own sovereign right ; but if Iran is coerced into signing an oil agreement, then it is a matter of international concern." That is the exact and correct United States policy. As western assurance was positive, the whole problem of the northern Iranian oil concession was kept in abeyance and in the background of big power politics. Iran was strengthened through surplus war material purchases, military training personnel, and economic long-term support through development credits. At the " Big Three " Conference of Teheran, economic support of Iran after the war had been promised on December 1, 1943. The U.S.S.R. was therefore a party to this promise, which was forgotten in the civil war the U.S.S.R. tried to set in motion. It can therefore hardly be claimed that Iran was strengthened to be used as a base against the U.S.S.R.

That the oil agreement, once promised to the Russians by Premier Qavam, was finally rejected by the Iranian Government with the moral backing of the western powers, did not come as a surprise. But in no way does this constitute a constructive solution of the Soviet-Iranian problem. Nor is it contended that United States efforts are limited to " containment " of Russia or have as their goal an imperialist oil supremacy. American policy reflects something of her national character, the desire to help protect small nations against outside domination. This is a positive and, when supported by economic assistance, a constructive policy. It is also a matter of prime United States national interest. If Iranian political, cultural and economic recovery continues and a more enduring stabilization results, if, furthermore, big-power relations enter the state of *rapprochement* and agreement on specific questions, if, finally, infiltration by direct or subversive methods ceases and the threat of unilateral domination of the Middle East is removed, a bargain may be struck for a general settlement on oil resources and apportionment of oil deliveries throughout the world. Then and then only the Iranian-Soviet incident, which has already produced a respectable temporary UNO success can be considered definitely settled.

In the final analysis, nothing in American policy stands in opposition to a *bona fide* Soviet oil concession in northern Iran, provided such a concession is not obtained through political coercion. Despite

recent Soviet statements indicating no further interest in Iranian oil, it is known that the rate of output of the neighbouring oil fields of the Caucasus, because of decades of uneconomical exploitation, will not be restored to even the pre-war level. This is likely to leave substantial refining capacity in this area under-utilized. A new source of crude petroleum in northern Iran easily transported across the well travelled trade routes of the Caspian Sea cannot but be of real advantage to the Soviet economy.

A continued awareness on the part of United States policy makers of the justifiable nature of Soviet oil requirements and the legitimacy of an Iranian oil concession, if negotiated in good faith, may provide a basis for a future settlement of this thorny problem.

(The first half of Professor Heymann's article appeared in the September issue of THE FORTNIGHTLY.)

THE CONQUERORS

BY HERBERT PALMER

There was ever the Gulf behind them
And a baffling foe before,
Fog and tempest to blind them,
Hands to cripple and gore ;
But out of each cloud that crushed them
And the Star where no light shone
Came a little wind that pushed them
Ever forwards, and on.

There was chasm and night behind them,
A sinuous foe before,
Tentacle fingers to grind them
Into sand of the Dead-Sea shore ;
But a little wind that had blessed them
And the faith which cravens shun
Hustled and nagged and caressed them
Into the Sun.

It had seemed as if God's own hammer
Were swinging over their heads,
As if all life's logic and grammar
Were spun of negative threads,
But a little wind's blue stammer
And their valour's entwining rod
Goaded and guided and carried them
Through all, to the City of God.

HOUSING PROGRESS

BY GILBERT MCALLISTER, M.P.

THE wartime Coalition Government estimated that 750,000 new units would be necessary in order to provide every family in the United Kingdom with a home of its own. That number of new homes was erected since the war in Britain by September of this year. But the shared house (and worse, the shared kitchen and the shared bathroom) still remain. The housing problem is scarcely less urgent than it was.

The achievement is considerable. Between the end of the war in 1945, and June 30, 1949, there was built in the United Kingdom 684,043 new homes, of which 526,897 were permanent and 157,146 were temporary. Allowing for other methods of providing new homes, the reconditioning of service camps, the conversions and so on, the total number of additional homes provided had reached by June 30, 1949, a total of 945,836. By the time this article appears over one million families in the United Kingdom will in four years have moved from overcrowded conditions into brand new homes. Between the wars four million British families were rehoused.

Nor is the output diminishing. At the end of June 1949, there were 190,486 permanent houses (including aluminium houses) under construction while tenders for an additional 63,867 had been approved, although the work of construction had not begun. The average number of houses produced every month in 1948 exceeded 15,000 with a record production in the month of June, when 21,459 houses were completed. The programme naturally began with a trickle, and in 1945 3,014 houses were built, in 1946 55,400, in 1947 the total reached 139,690 and in 1948 it was 227,616. All this was accomplished against a background of growing anxiety with regard to the national economy. Yet local authorities were told to go ahead on the basis that the level of house construction could be maintained. More houses were finished in 1948 than were started, but during the latter part of the year the number of new contracts was speeded up and in 1949 it has proved possible to maintain a steady relationship between the number of houses completed and the number of houses put out to contract.

The repair of war damaged houses levied a considerable tax on building materials and labour, and it is estimated that the 775,000 houses which were damaged during the war—although not enough

to prevent families living in them—and which have now been repaired, used labour and materials sufficient to build over 100,000 new houses. In addition, no fewer than 139,887 houses which had been so badly damaged by bombs as to be uninhabitable have now been completely restored while new dwellings have been provided for 118,770 families by the conversion of existing buildings.

These are the major facts of the State and local authority contribution to the solution of the housing problem since the war. In addition, private enterprise has built 88,046 houses in the United Kingdom, the great majority being in England and Wales and 4,058 in Scotland. But this is a misleading simplification. Most local authority houses have in fact been built by private enterprise—that is to say, by private building contractors who have successfully tendered for the work. The Government have consistently taken the view that houses should be built by local authorities and should be built to let and not for sale. They have, however, given discretion to local authorities to issue licences for the private building of houses, usually for owner-occupation, up to one-fifth of their housing allocation. In June 1948 the Government removed the maximum selling price for houses built for private sale (it had been £1,300 for the country and £1,400 for London) and left it to the local authorities to fix a flexible maximum selling price according to the size and type of the house and having regard to the cost of similar houses built by them. At the same time it was also left to the local authorities to decide the maximum size of the houses subject to a maximum superficial area of 1,500 square feet. No fewer than 28,183 houses totally destroyed during the war have been rebuilt under private contract.

The Government, too, have tended to give priority to miners and to agricultural workers. Local authorities in mining and in rural areas are urged to give special consideration to miners and farm workers in selecting tenants for their houses. They are under a statutory obligation to consider housing needs in allocating houses to tenants, but they have now to consider also the economic needs of the nation and in accordance with this policy 30,528 mining families and 18,418 agricultural workers' families were, by the end of June this year, rehoused in homes built by local authorities. This does not mean that in rural and mining areas local authorities are allowed to enter into unlimited new contracts. That would be a foolish policy because even in these areas the building of new houses is necessarily limited by the availability of building resources, especially labour, which in practice is not nearly so mobile as could be wished.

The aluminium bungalow, which made a substantial contribution to the temporary housing programme, is now making a significant one to the permanent programme and some 15,000 aluminium bungalows have been allocated to local authorities in mining areas on the

understanding that for the greater part they will be let to miners. Built on the conveyor belt system in factories, the aluminium bungalow arrives on the building site complete in four sections. "Complete" covers everything down to the last piece of equipment, the cooking range, the bath and the sink. Erection is a matter of hours and by the end of June this year, 15,573 of these bungalows had been completed while 542 were under construction. In addition Sir Edwin Airey is responsible for the design of a two-storeyed house, composed of concrete blocks and posts, which is also factory made under Government auspices. Some 20,000 of these Airey houses have been allocated to local authorities in rural districts and by June 30, 19,756 were under contract. The actual erection of the houses is done by local builders.

These then are the main facts of the housing programme and the visible evidence of the results which have so far been achieved is to be seen on any railway journey or any motor run through any part of the United Kingdom. Even in the remote Highlands of Scotland, the Swedish timber houses—1,000 of which were specially imported for the purpose—can be seen fitting pleasantly into the landscape and providing new standards of housing accommodation in an area where the "lone sheiling" was a fitter subject for the poetic nostalgia of the exile than for human habitation. There too, by *force majeure*, officialdom has unbent slightly and where building labour is not available people are allowed to build houses with their own hands.

The problem is not solved: it will not be solved until every family in the United Kingdom has a pleasant house to live in. That is not an unrealizable dream, and indeed in the next fifteen years we should see it turned from a dream to a reality. Of assistance will be the recent Housing Acts for England and Wales and for Scotland, which show a more imaginative approach towards the problem of conversion and to the question of owner-occupation than has hitherto been evinced. The Government are prepared to make grants to owners or pay up to half of the cost, not exceeding £600, for the conversion of one house into two. This is a wise step which should result in the saving of some first-class property and in the provision of many new units of accommodation. The extension of local authority loans to private individuals for private house purchase up to 90 per cent. of £5,000 is also important as marking the first decision by the State to cater for the housing needs of practically every section of the community. Little use has so far been made of these local authority loans—certainly the use has been infinitesimal as compared with the use of building societies who offer similar facilities and no better terms—but it is expected that with the help of a good deal of publicity an applicant will prefer in the future often to use his own local authority. In the meantime the building societies are

doing record business which is somewhat strange when one considers how little building there is for private sale. The fact is that many tenants have in recent years decided that the paying of rent which goes on forever is an unsatisfactory way of tackling their personal problems of housing finance, and have bought their houses from the landlord.

The inflated prices which are still being paid for houses have presented a headache to the building societies. A bungalow which before the war was sold for £500 will fetch as much as £2,000 to-day in the open market. But the building society will not advance 80 per cent. of £2,000, it will advance only 80 per cent. of £1,000, the value which in the view of the society the house will have reached in less than ten years time. This does foreshadow an enormous fall in building costs. It also foreshadows an enormous fall in housing demand because the present inflated prices are not so much related to building costs as to the phenomenal demand which followed the return of hundreds of thousands of men and women from the Forces, the increasing number of families in the community and the steadily rising standards of accommodation set by young people themselves. If the housing programme were not to increase in the next six years by one house a year, nevertheless by 1955 over half the outstanding housing demand of the United Kingdom will have been fully met.

It was hoped that some of the immediate housing needs would be satisfied by the provisions of the new Towns Act. Here progress has been disappointingly slow. Many corporations have been appointed, both by the Minister of Town and Country Planning and the Secretary of State for Scotland but only two towns, Crawley and East Kilbride, show any great signs of coming into being. In these two towns, roads are being built, sewers are being laid, services are being installed, the first housing schemes are being completed and the first shops are going up. At East Kilbride a great building is being erected for a new section of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. But in the other new towns one looks in vain for tangible signs of new communities.

In a recent debate in the House of Commons, in answer to criticisms of London Members concerned for the housing difficulties of their constituents, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health replied that many of these people would have to look to the new towns to meet their needs. This was either an important statement of Government policy, or blatant hypocrisy. It may be that the fault lies with the Reith Committee report, which rather went out of its way to emphasize the slow growth of new towns, a kind of new doctrine of the inevitability of gradualness. Why must the building of new towns be so slow? It need only be slow if the approach is too theoretical, too abstract. If one is obsessed with the idea of the

balanced community, the proper mixing of a community ; the proper distribution of business executives, professional men and workers in a community ; the proper and meticulous balance of residence and industry, then one is very likely to be strangled in the meshes of the tortuous web of self-imposed theory. If one is not so obsessed housing would go up for four or five hundred families. A bit of factory estate would go up, a dozen new factories would go into operation and most of the transferred population would find employment. If new towns are the ideal solution for urban congestion—and they are the best solution which has yet been offered—then why strain in the new towns themselves after a perfectionist policy which dooms hundreds of thousands of people to something much less than the best ?

What is the alternative to new towns ? It is high density flat development in city centres or the dormitory suburb on the outskirts. When the London County Council builds a huge dormitory suburb like Beacontree, no great thought is given to the nice balance of population, or to the mixing of the classes, and a hundred thousand people are dumped into an area in which they only live because the houses are there. Their work is not there : there is inadequate provision for community life. There is no great thought of access to the countryside, and somehow or other they are allowed to settle down for themselves. Would their position be worse or better if they were put into a new town in which they would know that in the course of five to twenty years they would be near their work, near their schools, with all the machinery of a full social life and easy access to an unspoiled countryside ? Quite clearly they would be better off.

Over 90 per cent. of the people of Great Britain want to live in a house with a garden. And yet a kind of megalomania obsesses housing authorities, housing architects, and city engineers, and even if they do not pursue the folly quite so far as the Minister of Health, who in a widely published speech said he would like to see Corbusier skyscrapers planted down in the heart of the English countryside, they at least have a strong tendency to give the people not what they want but something which satisfies some mysterious sub-conscious urge in themselves to create bigger and better warehouses rather than homes. Of course they will not get away with it. If the economic crisis has done one thing, it has made even the most obtuse realize that all things must be paid for and to erect a block of flats on the cheapest piece of land, would cost roughly unit for unit about twice as much money as to erect a decent house with a garden.

Decentralization of population and industry is the accepted policy of H.M. Government, and not only of the present Government, but of any Government that is likely to come to power in this country.

This means that hundreds of thousands of people have to be taken out of the congested inner heart of London, Manchester, Liverpool and Glasgow, and to do it a little more co-operation, a little more co-ordination between one Government department and another must be sought. The Board of Trade is still responsible for the allocation of industry—a function which quite manifestly ought to adhere to the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. The Ministry of Health is still responsible for housing finance and housing subsidy, and despite the assumption that the Government really meant what they said when they endorsed the recommendations of the Barlow Commission, it pursues a policy of specially high subsidies for blocks of flats erected on expensive sites. This is not merely a contradiction in policy—it just does not make sense of any kind.*

The Board of Trade, with great energy, created trading estates in all the development areas. It has had a single-minded desire to help the employment position in these areas which were hitherto too exclusively dependent on the older and heavier industries. In some respects its work is deserving of nothing but the greatest praise, but who could say that its policy has been related in the slightest degree either to housing needs or to housing provision? Take a first rate housing estate: add to it a first rate trading estate and you have two-thirds of a new town. Add to this shopping facilities, theatres, cinemas, recreation grounds, schools, hospitals, nursery schools, and encircle the whole with a belt of land dedicated to agriculture and recreation and you have a community so good that most of the existing towns would look third rate by comparison. Is this wise home movement, which pays the highest dividends in health and in happiness, and which, from the financial point of view is not only the best policy, but the cheapest policy, continually to be frustrated by the apathy and even the stupidity of people who will not give the subject the thought and attention it deserves?

There could be no greater contribution to the reduction of housing costs in the United Kingdom than a building policy of creating new towns where corporations and their architects were given a free hand, given a budget, given an early allocation of money and allowed to spend it without delay and Treasury interference. What is the point of having a public corporation at all if in fact it is simply a sub-department of a department subject to all the principles necessary for Treasury direction? The whole intention in creating corporations, whether for gas, electricity, coal or new towns, was that the corporation would not be a government department, would not be subject to the same rigid rules and the same red tape.

* One would imagine that Raymond Unwin had lived in vain and that his famous pamphlet *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding* had never been written, were it not for the fact that Mr. F. J. Osborn continually reminds us that Unwin's thesis is as valid to-day as forty years ago.

One can hope for much in the way of reduction of housing costs and in the speeding up of the housing programme from greater production per man within the industry, but it is regrettably true that no great overall increase in production is as yet apparent and that the highest standards of production are to be found in the areas where there is some unemployment in the building trades. This is a tragedy of the worst kind and not least for the building trade workers. One can understand their deep-seated suspicions, their bitter memories of the days when one third of the building trade workers were unemployed. Nevertheless the building trade worker should realize that in reducing his output below pre-war level—expressed best in the statement that whereas before the war three building trade workers produced three houses a year, to-day three building trade workers produce two houses a year—he is failing his own family and the families of his fellow workers. Housing costs after the 1914-1918 war rose even higher than after 1945 and were brought down by Conservative Ministers of Health, Sir Alfred Mond (later Lord Melchett) and Mr. Neville Chamberlain, who simply brought the house-building programme to a standstill. Within a year building two began to fall and within four years dropped from £1,000 to under £400 for the same cottage. No Government, certainly no Labour Government, would wish to adopt this remedy to-day, but it is a matter of history that the Wheatley Housing Act of 1924, which produced almost as many houses as all the other housing Acts put together, would not have been possible if housing costs had remained at the level which they reached while Dr. Addison was Minister of Health.

One can also hope for something in the way of reduction of costs and the speeding up of production from new methods, and here the Government have not been slow to use new materials and new factory conveyor belt processes. Is it too much to hope that one of these days the Government will give serious thought to the possibility of allowing people to build houses for themselves? With the ground prepared, the foundations built and the drains laid, there are innumerable people in the country who would find as much joy as Mr. Churchill did in brick-laying in building their own houses under skilled supervision. Why the idea has not already taken root—apart from the Scottish Office experiments in the Highlands—is difficult to understand. It has been done in other countries, notably in Sweden. Why should it not be done here?

(Mr. McAllister is Member of Parliament for Rutherglen).

PUBLIC CARE OF CHILDREN IN CANADA

BY JOHN MOSS

DURING a recent extended tour in Canada I had the opportunity of meeting many people who are concerned with the administration of the social services, and was able to compare the Canadian with the British system. I was also able to see representative Canadian institutions.

The social services come mainly within the legislative functions of the various provincial governments. But the Federal Government has accepted responsibility for financing family allowances throughout the Dominion since 1945. Eight of the provinces have a child welfare division as an integral part of their public welfare structure sometimes giving direct service to children and in other instances giving financial support to private agencies. In Ontario, for instance, the Child Welfare Division of the Department of Public Welfare is responsible for standards of supervision and care through the province. It supervises the work of the 54 Children's Aid Societies. These are governed by boards of directors, selected from the local community. They are autonomous and employ their own staff of social workers. In British Columbia, as in most of the other provinces, there is a Provincial Act which provides for the legal transfer of guardianship of orphans or neglected children to the State and for the incorporation of children's aid societies who give care to such children. Guardianship may also be assumed by these societies.

There may be some responsibility on the local authority but most of the work in this connection is done by children's aid societies. In Saskatchewan towns where use is made of certain children's aid societies, there appears now to be a tendency for much of the work of these societies to be taken over by that province. The Canadian Welfare Council which corresponds broadly with the National Council of Social Service in this country is doing much good work in encouraging the raising and maintenance of a good standard of protection and care for all children whose needs cannot be fully met by their own parents.

A report issued by the Social Welfare Department in Saskatchewan emphasizes that the first phase of a sound welfare programme is child protection and care. The last annual report of that department explains that,

from the standpoint of the individual or family unit involved . . . the programme of the child welfare branch is one of rehabilitation and re-establishment wherever it is possible, and to maintain the family unit as such, and the giving of security, affection and sense of belonging

to those children who through circumstances beyond their control have been displaced from their family. By implementing this policy the department has recognized the importance of the child community and through increased financial and consultative services has made the future of all children in the province more secure. Where a child has to be taken over by the province, the child becomes its ward and the department is responsible for his welfare until he comes of age or until adoption arrangements are made. When a foster home cannot be found immediately, the child is temporarily placed in an institution. One of the new developments in the Provincial Government's welfare programme, is the establishment of institutions to serve as receiving homes and observation centres for temporary care.

In most of the provinces there is a close relationship between the child welfare branch and the department responsible for industrial schools. In Saskatchewan not only the industrial schools, but also the gaols are the responsibility of the welfare department. In British Columbia there has been experimentation in placing boys and girls discharged from industrial schools in foster homes, if their own homes are considered unfit to receive them back. After-care service for these children is provided by the field workers of the province and also by those provided by certain children's aid societies. To show the degree of co-operation which usually exists between the welfare department and the juvenile courts it may be mentioned that in British Columbia these courts have found the advice of the field workers' service to be of such assistance that the practice has developed of notifying these workers of all delinquent cases to be heard by the court. There is also in British Columbia, a Children of Unmarried Persons Act, in connection with the administration of which the magistrates' court now recognizes the helpful rôle of the social worker in cases heard under the Act.

Throughout Canada emphasis is laid on providing foster homes for children who are deprived of a normal home life. In some instances it would seem that even too much emphasis has been laid on this form of care and it has not always been appreciated that there are some children for whom care in a residential home—at any rate for a temporary period—may be better than in a foster home. When foster care of children first developed, many children were placed in what are known as "wage" homes, places where small sums of money were paid to the child for services rendered. For some years most of the children were sent to this type of home. Now, the so called wage homes are used mainly on farms and only older boys and

girls who show a definite preference for farm work are placed there.

While foster home care has therefore been developed to a high degree in most of the provinces, sufficient attention does not appear to have been paid to the type of institutional care sometimes required, and certain of the criticisms of the Curtis Committee on the administration of children's homes in this country would therefore seem to apply to some of the children's institutions in Canada. The question of establishing reception centres for children—as was advocated by the Curtis Committee for this country and has been suggested recently by the Home Office—is however receiving consideration, particularly in Ontario. A number of the children's aid societies in different parts of Canada already have reception homes, but these are mainly for quite young children. There is an entirely new approach by some of those engaged in this field and in British Columbia, for instance, it is now appreciated that for some children who have been badly hurt by their parents or other adults, foster home placement can be successful only if some interim type of care is provided which will not make too many demands upon their feelings and loyalties. Progress is therefore being made in making suitable institutions available for this purpose, and for helping the institutional staff toward a better understanding of their rôle in the child welfare programme.

In all parts of Canada there are a certain number of voluntarily administered homes for children. These are usually in varying degree under provincial supervision. For instance, in Ontario, the appropriate Act contains detailed regulations on the manner in which a charitable institution shall be administered. Before constructing a building for a charitable institution the organization must furnish the Minister of Welfare with plans and specifications in considerable detail. Even the amount of equipment required is specified in the Act. Under the present law in Great Britain, it is necessary for a local authority to seek the approval of the Home Secretary for the erection of new buildings and, in some cases, for the alteration of existing buildings, but nothing like the detailed control in Ontario would be accepted here. The Ontario Act was, however, only passed this year and may be indicative of the desire of the provincial department to raise the standard of care in children's institutions, as also in adult institutions.

Turning to the foster care provision for children (or boarding-out as it is known in this country) it seems to me that much can be learned from the practice applied in most of the provinces in Canada. But in this matter also it is important not to give the impression that the system is uniform throughout the Dominion, because whereas in some provinces the care of foster children is excellent, in at least one province it did not seem to me to be anything like so good. There is however a noteworthy emphasis nearly everywhere in Canada,

with the possible sole exception of Alberta, on the importance of using trained social workers for this type of work. This is in accordance with the views of the Curtis Committee, but unfortunately the number of trained social workers now available for this work here is so small that much of the home finding and visitation of boarded-out children is still being undertaken by untrained staff. This is why the Home Office is organizing training for this work through its central training council. The value of the employment of trained social workers is even more apparent in the care taken to prevent children becoming deprived of a normal home life. Under existing legislation in British Columbia, one of the duties of a children's aid society is the "amelioration of family conditions that lead to neglected children" and in this way the preventative side of the work has been legalized.

In Saskatchewan, it is quite usual for parents to request help from the social agency, which may be a children's aid society, if their family life is threatened by marital discord, personality difficulties or destructive parent-children relationships, and they are then visited by trained social workers so that they may be helped to preserve their home and strengthen their family life. Most of the workers so employed throughout Canada are women.

In the memorandum of evidence submitted to the Curtis Committee by the County Councils Association, it was pointed out that "attention should also be given to the possibility of preventing the conditions which give rise to the need for remedial action"; and the Association put forward proposals both for the improvement of conditions when the state of homelessness is an accomplished fact, and also for the prevention and relief of the circumstances which eventually lead to the exercise of the various powers of the authority. It was not, however, within the scope of the Curtis Committee to make recommendations on this subject, but the following paragraph appeared in its report:

Consideration of the welfare of children deprived of a home life must inevitably be raised in our minds . . . whether this deprivation might not have been prevented. This is a question which we regard of the utmost importance and we hope that serious consideration will be given to it.

My experience in Canada has confirmed the view I held as a member of the Curtis Committee, that a serious lack in England is the failure to make full use of trained social workers, particularly women workers, in the field of child neglect and what is more important, in helping to prevent child neglect. This is one of the responsibilities of the child welfare division in each province in Canada, acting frequently through children's aid societies. In Saskatchewan, for instance, it is recognized as a responsibility of the division to assist family units where unsatisfactory conditions are interfering with the welfare of the children. It is appreciated that these are not necessarily

cases of child neglect or ill-treatment ; but may be due to marital difficulties or serious illness. Where treatment fails, or where neglect is apparent, there is power to remove the child from the home, and by an order of the court temporary or permanent wardship may be granted. This is, however, only a last resort and every attempt is first made to keep the family intact and to improve conditions within the home. As a result of this approach, the number of children so committed to the department is decreasing. This brings me to a comparison with the work undertaken at home by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Whereas experience in Canada shows that women are generally more suitable than men for this class of work, it is only recently that the N.S.P.C.C. has employed women inspectors or visitors. The main qualifications of their inspectors is said to be " an instinctive love for children, zeal, discretion and good will " but they are " specially trained in their duties and fully instructed into the principles and methods of the society they represent."*

It is however not apparently the policy of the society nor do they consider it necessary that their inspectors should be generally trained social workers. It could hardly expect to obtain such persons at the salaries which the society is able to offer. But the society has taken a real step forward by appointing women visitors, of whom five are already being employed. The aims of these visitors are :

- (1) to keep in touch with children as a friend and adviser after the inspector has completed his work with the family ;
- (2) to assist parents by advising on home and family management, thus continuing the work done by the inspector of improving the children's home and surroundings ;
- (3) to co-operate with the inspector in any work which might be considered more suitably done by a woman.

This scheme is a post-war development of the society's work and is still in an elementary stage. The visitors are given six months prior training by the society. My only suggestion for this admirable scheme is that it should be considerably extended and that if at all possible the persons appointed should have had general training in social work.

Before leaving the comparisons of the social services in the two countries, mention may be made of adoption. In Canada, as I hope generally in Great Britain, the placement of children for adoption is an outstanding feature of the child welfare programme. This type of work is the responsibility of the children's department of the province, but in practice is often undertaken by the children's aid societies. Great care is taken both in the selection of a suitable child

* See memorandum prepared by the Society for the Curtis Committee.

for adoption, and the suitability of the proposed adoptive parents. In some provinces after a child is placed in a home, a period of at least a year is necessary before legal adoption. As in this country, most adoptions take place from about three months to six years but in addition each province is responsible for supervising private adoptions in cases where the department was not responsible for the placement.

Now what about the finance of the children's services in Canada? How does it compare with Great Britain? In this country there is still a considerable amount of voluntary work for children mainly through the large voluntary organizations which have been pioneers in providing children's homes. I think however there will be a growing tendency for the cost of maintenance of children in communal homes to fall on the State and the local authorities, although I hope the time is far distant when the charitable public cease to subscribe at all to these organizations.

A noteworthy feature of Canadian life is the vast amount raised by private charities. Although a large national organization such as the Canadian Red Cross Society may raise funds indirectly for their own purposes, much of the money found voluntarily for the social services is undertaken by what is called "The Community Chest". In most of the large cities in Canada and in some of the smaller communities, there is a local council of social agencies which is a mutual association of welfare organizations for the furtherance of common interests. It is essentially a deliberative, consulting and planning body, in no way absorbing, but merely advising on the work of each member, group or agency as part of the community's whole programme. Such a council provides a forum where all groups may meet to consider their community as a whole and to agree on the different responsibilities each is best equipped to assume. The council is usually organized into separate divisions for health, child and family welfare and recreation. The division on child and family welfare would normally include representatives from the children's aid society, and child-caring institutions, and representatives of any agencies working in this particular field. The community chest is then usually the responsibility of a parallel agency which raises money in the locality for the various charities associating in the chest and council. They do not make separate appeals to the public but agree to pool their resources and accept an allocation of revenue from the chest. There are now something like 50 community chests in different parts of the Dominion, covering a population area of nearly five million people—38.6 per cent. of the Canadian population. They raised a total of £2,344,605 last year for 725 agencies across Canada. The sum raised in each place varied from £2,162 in the small town of Espanola to £535,000 in Toronto and £715,000 in

Montreal, where there are 4 different chests covering Catholic, French and Jewish charities and one operating for the Montreal Federation. It is the practice for each chest to have an annual campaign. The children's aid society thus normally obtains its voluntary income through the chest. The societies in the city of Vancouver, for instance, received about £20,000 from the chest last year. Provision is also made in some areas for contributions to be paid to the chest by the province. In Ontario, for instance, each children's aid society receives from the province an amount equal to a quarter of the amount of the fund obtained each year from any campaign, either conducted by the society only or as part of a joint campaign.

Another source of voluntary contributions is through the so-called "service" clubs (Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, etc.). The "service" is to the community, not, as in this country, a reference to a club which is in some way associated with His Majesty's Forces. Each of these clubs, of which there are very large numbers throughout Canada, sponsors one or more special activities, one of which may well be children. I heard of one instance of a service club raising a considerable sum of money required for the help of a crippled child.

In this article I have drawn some general comparisons between the administration of these particular services in the two countries. I must emphasize however that the comparisons are only general as the detailed arrangements and the legislative provisions vary very much through the vast Dominion. It could hardly be expected that with provincial autonomy, conditions in Ontario or even more so in French-speaking Quebec could be precisely similar to those prevailing in British Columbia over 3,000 miles away. But through the conferences which are held in different parts of the Dominion, one of which I attended in Victoria, British Columbia, and others in Toronto and Montreal, and through the field staff of the Canadian Welfare Council, a considerable amount of uniformity in general principles is being achieved, and the provinces have the opportunity of learning from each other. Again I stress that the great difference between our two countries is the use made of voluntary agencies and the vast amount of money which is still being raised in Canada from voluntary sources for all forms of social welfare activities, not least in the care of children.

(Mr. John Moss, C.B.E. and Barrister-at-Law, is Public Assistance Officer for Kent.)

SCIENCE IS NOT ENOUGH

BY L. C. MARTIN

IN the latter part of the last century it appeared that man's control of his destiny was at hand and that the supposed clogging superstitions of religion would melt away like mists before the sunshine of science. Ring out the old, ring in the new. Complacent confidence in human progress has received a number of fatal shocks, of which three are outstanding. They are : the stunning blow dealt by the machine to the human spirit, the unexpected recrudescence of savagery in world wars, and the fear which springs from the possession of overwhelming weapons by seemingly irresponsible men. In spite of the growing sense of insecurity, our national programmes still look to more and more science and technology, more and more machinery, and more and more armaments as the main hopes. The science departments of our universities and technical colleges are full to overflowing with students—largely supported by public funds. The children of our nation are very largely brought up in homes where materialism is dominant and the ethical system (if any) a second-hand and very arbitrary affair. The best that can be said for such an upbringing is that it does include aspects of freedom and knowledge ; but the young, lacking a background to life, are the more susceptible to the blows which this materialistic pre-occupation makes the more inevitable. Even the calmness of judgment, the patience, restraint, and fairness, which may result from the pursuit of research, are only for the few. The many seem to fall under the dominance of the products of their own hands.

Liberty, for which the rationalist hoped, is here. The modern child can even forget that " it is Sunday " but with the loss of the sense of religious obligation and a " duty to God " he often tends to lose his sense of spiritual duty to the community. For the last thousand years the rulers in Europe have subscribed at least nominally to the ideals of Christian ethics, and, whatever its failures and divergences, the Church had somehow managed to keep the Gospels in the picture. They have provided a norm to which men might return. But the totalitarians threw overboard all ethical systems except those of their own opportunisms. The liberals were shocked to find that, freed from moral restraint, men of the twentieth century

could be and were desperately cruel and wicked—especially when war had removed the normal inhibitions.

The final and most recent blow is the appearance of catastrophic weapons such as the atomic bomb at the very moment when opportunism flourishes, and totalitarianism, eclipsed in the defeated countries, appears in new strength in Soviet Russia. Science, the liberator, has chosen to react more strongly with the evil rather than the good in human nature, and has thus ended by terrifying all of us.

The man of science may therefore be led to ask himself whether religion has not been dismissed too summarily; whether perhaps it may have a future as well as a past; whether it may (perhaps in a purified form) be a key to some of the problems which seem to defy a purely rationalistic approach. Religion has shown a marked evolution in the course of human history. Sometimes its current statements seem to lag behind the development of human thought; sometimes in the words of its prophets it seems to beckon men upwards to almost impossible heights. Always in the testimony of its exponents it offers experiences and standards of reference beyond the ordinary. We may, however, reasonably suppose that if religion has a future it must be one ultimately in harmony with the best that men have experienced in other ways, and that there must in the end be a reconciliation and a unity.

With what kind of temper would a physicist or a chemist approach religion? Something of the old confidence characteristic of the last generation of scientists has departed. Nature has proved to be in some ways vastly more mysterious than had been supposed, and even if the discovery of natural laws has been widely extended, they have tended to take the form of mathematical generalizations. The ultimate building materials of the universe cannot be described by the scientist in terms of direct sense experience and, though he may talk glibly about such 'ultimates' as electrons, protons, neutrons and mesons, his mental images of these things are drawn in terms of bullets, the solar system, pendulums, and the like; he knows how misleading such ideas may be, for things happen unexpectedly in nature which never happen in the model. Once again, we are discovering a new set of elements. The realities of the world are, as it were, in a dark house into which we can never enter but can only push sticks through the keyhole; there is no guarantee that the supposed shapes of things inside will mean anything to us even if we should find out something about them.

These difficulties have produced a certain modesty and diffidence in the physicist. He is inclined to be less dogmatic—and much more cautious in condemning anything as impossible because it lies outside his experience. Yet, on the other hand, he has retained a profound reverence for mental integrity. Research experience leads him to

make a set of observations as carefully as possible, to analyse the results in a painstaking way without bias, and to give his conclusions with some indication as to the weight of the evidence. This is in sharp contrast to the practice of the vast majority of human beings (or even, perhaps, of the physicist himself outside the laboratory) for judgments on men and affairs are often made on the basis of very inadequate information accompanied by much emotional prejudice. On the whole, however, the effect or research experience *does* modify the character of the scientist. He is, in one's usual experience, more likely to reserve judgment on a doubtful point than another man ; more likely to give a fairly balanced opinion. Eddington remarked that the idea of a conclusive proof is an idol before which the mathematician may torture himself ; the physicist is content with a measure of probability.

It is not suggested that the judgment of the mass of mankind in any subject will conform to that of the scientist ; but the views of scientific men have received an attention and exerted an influence which has been profound. Whole political philosophies current at the present time take their sanctions from the thorough-going materialism of Victorian atheists. If it be true, as it is, that this rather naïve position has been left behind by scientists, it is perhaps worth while to ask what view of religion they are likely to take in modern times. This is not to say that Christianity should alter its course to suit all the changing winds of imperfect human knowledge. The natural philosopher does, however, realize aspects of general truth ; and he can thus make his contribution towards a deeper appreciation of the fundamentals of religious truth, and help to establish a better perspective.

The "new reformation" which A. N. Whitehead longed for, is overdue. Modernism, as usually understood, has failed to provide the dynamic which was needed, just as unitarianism failed in earlier epochs. Whatever evidences of religious revival are now manifest, and they are becoming more and more evident, they seem to be associated (if we can trust Karl Barth) with a retreat towards orthodoxy and authority, and with a despair not only of human character but also of any possibility of development of religious knowledge and faith ; our faith is to be that which was "once and for all committed to the Saints" and which we can either accept in its entirety, or abandon as hopeless. But this line has the grave defect that it tends to produce wider divergences between sincere thinkers in the secular as against the religious camps. If the Churches seem to put up a legend over the door : "Abandon critical thought, all ye who enter here" it is not due to the example set by the fathers, who spent much time and passionate energy in stating the faith in terms intelligible to the best thought of their day.

“Christianity did not escape from the Near East without some scars.” The presentation of Christ to the average congregation differs very little from that characteristic of the time when the Apostles preached to assemblies of orthodox Jews in the cities of the Mediterranean lands ; the Christian literature read in our Churches is a collection of books dating from the very earliest days of Christianity. Yet, what do they know of the New Testament who only the New Testament know ? Without discounting for a moment the priceless value of those early letters and records, they do not altogether outweigh, for many of us, other aspects of Christian evidence. The Old Testament is regularly read in English Churches, but seldom with systematic instruction as to the evolution of Hebrew ideas of the Divine nature. It is, of course, possible there to find adequate backing for a variety of moral codes having little connection with Christianity, and to picture the Almighty in various aspects ranging from a tribal thunder-God to something approaching Plato’s persuasive agency for good. The Hebrew mystic experience, couched in terms of the greatest fervour, sets a puzzle even to the Christian who may find it hard to imagine how it was possible for men to obey the injunction to love the unseen, before the mystery of His love for mankind had been manifest in incarnation. The Old Testament is in this way a difficult book for the modern reader, but its language is freely borrowed for Christian worship :

The God of Abraham praise
At whose supreme command
From earth I rise to seek the joys
At His right hand.

For what proportion of worshippers in a modern congregation would these words describe a deeply-felt experience ? Moreover, how can it be conceived as possible that a beginner, in coming to it (maybe with a scientific background of sincerity) can approach Christianity by such a formidable threshold ?

There is a sense, it seems, in which the mystic experience of the individual described in the “Intimations of Immortality” echoes the experience of the human race, for there is a way in which our vision has faded into the light of common day. But we can at least be thankful that there *is* light ; and if we want to see where we are going it is more helpful than darkness, no matter how beautiful the dreams of the night.

To the present writer, at least, the most significant fact about “the Christ” is the quite unmistakable influence which this idea has exerted in moulding human lives into its beautiful pattern ; the saints are with us to-day. While all the world has listened to any item of news about such men as Newman, Temple, and Albert Schweitzer, one has not to go far in the world of social service in the

towns and villages before making acquaintance with those who are consciously striving to follow the footsteps of Jesus—and are doing it moreover out of a sense of personal obligation to Him. The Christ idea is operative in the world, and that is a fact beside which the details of its mode of origin are relatively unimportant.

Fermat's principle* in optics was actually founded on a fallacious argument ; but, once it had been shown to be valid, it marked the beginning of tremendous developments in physical theory. Far from being founded on arguments, Christian faith had its origin in the experiences of men. The final truth about the origins of religion, like the origins of life itself, is almost inevitably bound to be beyond our present possibilities of comprehension. Nature is very rich in variety and surprise, and we are far from full comprehension even in the case of her most straightforward physical phenomena. The things of the soul of man are even more subtle, and when we read the poetry with which deep religious experiences (otherwise unutterable) have clothed themselves, we are unlikely to get nearer the truth by applying to such records the standards of criticism which would be appropriate to a modern biography. The true origins of religion are probably both too simple and too subtle for us; the man of to-day, seeking for a firm basis for his moral philosophy ought rather to ask himself "Is this Christ-idea beautiful?" rather than vexing himself with highly disputable questions regarding Christian origins. A thing of beauty has its own right to be judged, especially if it is continually capable of inspiring and creating beauty. We shall certainly not discard Fermat's theorem because its author thought that "nature could not be wasteful" any more than we should destroy a Botticelli Madonna because we may happen to believe that Mary and the Infant Jesus never looked just like that. The only excuse for rejecting beauty is that of finding something even more beautiful. The Christian Church is the only human organization which exists to keep the vision of Christ before the minds and consciences of men. It is a grave decision if we decide deliberately to take no share in this creative activity because of historical doubts which can never be wholly resolved.

We can safely leave the materialists to worry about the disappearance of the material heaven which was in the mental background of the writers of the Gospels. Even so, though we now know more of the possible, its limits are still hidden. The full truth about immortality is probably much more wonderful and satisfying than anything which our time-bound ideas can possibly contain.

* *Fermat* : The path of light from one point to another is characterized by minimum, maximum, or stationary time.

Baron von Hügel in his interesting discussion of mysticism* deprecates what he terms an unduly Christocentric approach to prayer. Also the Unitarians claimed to be able to worship One God in purity of mind, and it seems that in some cases at least there has been such a confidence in the direct approach of the human spirit to Him that the surprising claim of Christ to be 'the way' has been forgotten. But others may find that the notion of absolute power has implied absolute responsibility, and that if there has been a break in the tradition of direct approach it cannot be recovered; for the modern mind has found increasing difficulty in fitting the idea of a personal deity to the new and mysterious world view of science. But the doctrine of the Trinity was at least an honest attempt to bring at least the possibility of an adjustment; if the Deity had to bear responsibility for the evil as well as the good of the world, He himself suffered with us. There is a commendable willingness in the orthodox viewpoint to admit that there are inexplicable aspects of God, which seem absent in the Unitarian view. In the effort to lead a Christian life a man acquires a viewpoint which gives a new perspective to religious thinking. First of all (learning by his own failures) he will be less likely to criticize other fellow-Christians for their imperfect lives, and Christian history, teaching and theology will take on a significance which is literally impossible of comprehension to those who approach it in a merely academic sense.

Longfellow's monk leaves the vision in his cell to attend to the wants of the poor, and finds a more ecstatic experience; it may be possible even for one blessed (or hampered) with a scientific training to begin the Christian pilgrimage. The eternal contradiction between the stern majesty of the law and compassion for human frailty, between the soldier who honestly strives for the maintenance of obligations and the pacifist who sees clearly enough that war creates more problems than it solves will be resolved; but only in the coming of the Kingdom of God. Truth may distil from science, but only the spirit of Christ can make it bearable for man.

(Dr. L. C. Martin is Professor of Optics in the Imperial College of Science and Technology.)

HOW PROTECTOR SOMERSET FELL FROM POWER

BY ALICE HARWOOD

“**E**NDOWED and enriched with most excellent gifts both in body and mind, but the best gift, that God has chosen the light of the Gospel to shine forth by His instrumentality . . .” So runs a contemporary view of Edward Seymour, Lord Protector, who fell from power on October 12, 1549, after a briefer period of rule than any sovereign before his time except Richard III. He was the first commoner to hold so high an office. Had he held it a few years longer, his influence might have eased a situation in which Mary Tudor became the soured fanatic odious to posterity, and would certainly have obstructed the plot to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne.

Born in 1505, Edward Seymour had been a page-boy to Henry VIII's sister Marie, on her marriage with Louis XII, and had thus early known court life at home and abroad. Remotely blue-blooded, the son of a Wiltshire knight, he sprang unforseeably into prominence when King Henry visited Wolf Hall, the family seat, and there met Mistress Jane, destined to become his third queen. The year 1537, which brought a motherless Prince of Wales on the scene, was also a memorable one for the Prince's uncle, who became Earl of Hertford and Lord Great Chamberlain. During the next ten years this “raised” man showed such ability as a soldier and a diplomat that when Henry VIII died in 1547, the regency council with only one dissentient voice elected Edward Seymour as Protector of the Realm during a nine-years' minority. It was a great personal triumph, and his position, to outsiders, must have seemed a towering one, as “king over the king.” But he lacked the sanctity of royal blood which had always before lent dignity to an office fraught with difficulties.

If we had to judge Queen Elizabeth on the first three years of her reign, it is doubtful whether any but the most discerning would foresee through that stormy period her subsequent greatness. We must take this into account before judging Somerset, for although he had serious faults, as a man and a ruler, it would seem that his virtues were partly responsible for his downfall, and that the worst thing he ever did to England was to relinquish office in favour of an unscrupulous interloper. In the religious field his achievements were enduring, and the real foundations of a national church were

laid, including a married priesthood, a Bible freely printed and circulated, and Cranmer's *First Book of Common Prayer*, which was the forerunner of Shakespeare's English no less than of our modern Liturgy. Somerset's intelligence and obtuseness went hand in hand, for the same man who made heretic-burning illegal and modified Henry VIII's harsh treasons Act, also enforced the new prayer book on a specified date throughout the land, without regard to the conservatism of country folk or the insularity of the Cornish, who were used to hearing parts of the Latin mass in their own Celtic tongue.

Strange to say, when a faction began to form against the duke, it was not supported by such Catholics as Bishop Gardiner, who had been mildly imprisoned, but was composed mainly of men who themselves professed reform views. The real rift between Somerset and his council began, most probably, when they induced him to bring a Bill of attainder against his brother Thomas, instead of opening a formal trial. The younger Seymour had celebrated King Henry's death by marrying his widow, and in March 1549 was convicted of a plot to seize control of king and State. The protector who had walked out of the proceedings "for pity's sake" none the less consented to his brother's execution on Tower Hill, and bore the Council a grudge afterwards for their harsh advice. Yet they blamed him for his hesitation, and were even more contemptuous of his pity for the labouring classes, who suffered from rising prices and unemployment due to the annexation of monastic property. There was no doubt which side he was really on, when infuriated smallholders began resisting those landowners who made sheep-runs or private parks out of common grazing-lands where, since time immemorial, the poor man could find free "keep" for his cattle. When Hugh Latimer was encouraged to preach against these "unnatural steplords," who were breaking the law just as much as those who rioted, many councillors recognized in his vituperations a portrait of themselves. They were not only offended, but alarmed at what they considered an attempt to enlist popular support for an autocracy. Fifty years later, Shakespeare was to make Mark Antony declaim over his murdered patron :

When that the poor have cried, Caesar hath wept ;
Ambition should be made of sterner stuff !

Had he intended an epitaph on Somerset, it could hardly have been put better. He was ambitious, but should have been made of sterner stuff and not wept with the poor, if he meant to hold his own with men who desired power as much as he did with far less justification. When he supported John Hales, the economist, in bringing forward Parlia-

mentary Bills to maintain tillage and restore decayed houses, his council thought this pure idealism, and incongruous in a ruler who had just begun a sumptuous palace for himself in the Strand, from the masonry of destroyed churches. When, in the spring of 1549, Somerset pardoned those rioters who had levelled "enclosure" dykes, even Lord Paget, a close friend, wrote and remonstrated. "Oh sir, they say 'tis great pity, but ever-fair weather doeth harm . . . I know your gentle heart, and that your meaning is good and godly." After this polite but rather grudging tribute, Paget threw out a hint of the real matter which troubled his colleagues : the duke was taking too much upon his own shoulders, and behaving as if none but himself were directly responsible to the king. There is a genuine note in this complaint, for Somerset had made a stamp of Edward's signature—perhaps only for emergency use—and assumed almost regal status when he addressed the French King as "Brother". If Warwick's malicious letter to Mary and Elizabeth may be credited, he was at times wanting in reasonableness and tact. "He would hear nothing spoken by the Council for His Majesty's affairs, but either he would contemptuously reject it, or doing nothing, pass it over in silence."

Unhappily for Somerset, he soon required every man on the council who could lead an army. At Whitsuntide the Cornish took up arms against the new prayer book ; in July, Robert Ket organized his camp near Norwich, to enforce justice with regard to enclosures. The bloodshed which followed must have sickened the soul of a man whose ideal had been to create a happy labouring class. In August came a third shock, for the French took advantage of our civil disorders to stir up trouble in Boulogne. It was disastrous for the duke, who had to send regular troops overseas, while leaving substantial forces in the hands of discontented colleagues. That month we catch the first faint breath of a conspiracy. Lord Warwick, after inflicting a heavy defeat on Ket's rebels, returned to London in triumph, and had a disagreement with Somerset, who refused extra pay to his German mercenaries. Warwick had already made a sure ally in the Marquis of Northampton, whom he had been sent to supersede at Norwich, but had petitioned to have left in his command. On hearing of the French broil, the hero of the hour declared : "Open war is better than coloured friendship." It was to be his policy from henceforth, in a situation that suited him admirably.

By September there was no disguising the fact that two councils existed, the "bogus" one functioning at Warwick's house in Holborn, with Wriothesley, the protector's old opponent, as an able sponsor, and the official one, much reduced in size, at Hampton Court. It seemed wiser to keep Edward out of London, for Warwick's confederates were fast filling the capital with armed retainers. In his

moated refuge, whence despatches went forth for the direction of gunners to Boulogne, Somerset could count on Archbishop Cranmer, Lord Paget, Sir William Petre, Sir Thomas Smith, and William Cecil, then his personal secretary. Off to the west country hurried his young son, to warn Lord Russell and Sir William Herbert, who had just put down the revolt in Devon and Cornwall, that their militia were urgently needed. On October 1 a proclamation was issued to "all loving subjects" that the king was in danger. A few days later some anonymous friend of the duke dropped pamphlets in the streets of London, accusing Dudley's confederates of anti-reform leanings and of intended treason against the king, adding: "they be come up of late from the dunghill, a sort of them more meet to keep swine than to occupy the offices which they do occupy."

This was hardly the language to conciliate John Dudley, and as he continued to scare the capital with his retainers, the Protector issued a general call-to-arms on handbills from those printing-presses which he had freed from restriction. The art of typography was then young. It was just over seventy years since Caxton came home from Bruges to set up a "press", and fifty since Perkin Warbeck's famous confession echoed down Cheapside from a carefully "edited" broadsheet. This brief handbill was no subtle compilation, but propaganda in the most urgent sense, a cry of the heart from a man at bay, intended to be read aloud in every market-place and on every village green through the nearer shires: "In the name of God and King Edward, let us rise with all our power to defend him and the Lord Protector against certain lords and gentlemen and chief-masters, which would depose the Lord Protector and so endanger the King's royal person, because we, the poor commons, being injured by the extortions of gentlemen, had our pardon this year by the mercy of the King and the goodness of the Lord Protector, for whom let us fight, for he loveth all just and true gentlemen which do no extortion, and also the poor commonalty of England."

It was a desperate bid for safety, that the head of the State should identify his cause with that of the rioters whose plight he had pitied. As a vast crowd assembled outside Hampton Court, Somerset led the boy king across the moat, prompting him to say briefly: "Good people, I pray you be good to us and to our uncle." What exactly happened then we know mainly from Dudley's account, which was twisted so as to blacken Somerset, even affirming that the duke threatened to see Edward killed before he would be destroyed himself. Were this incredible fact true, it is hard to see why so many volunteers joined the protector, when he left late at night for Windsor. It was a torchlight procession, more a flight than a march. According to gossip, Edward held up a drawn sword at passers-by, entreating them through lips blue with cold: "My vassals, will you help me against

those who want to kill me ?” As man after man joined the royal party, Somerset, Cranmer and Paget must have tried to forget those two dismal facts, that the seasoned veterans under Herbert and Russell had never arrived, and that a peace-offer carried by Petre to London had brought no answer.

At this point the actors in the drama began to clarify their various rôles. Herbert and Russell at Andover told Somerset at Windsor : “ Your Grace’s proclamations and billets sent abroad for the raising of the Commons we mislike very much.” Thomas Smith wrote to Petre, who had gone over to Warwick’s party : “ I cannot leave the King’s Majesty and him who was my master, of whom I have had all, and I cannot deny but I have misliked also some of the things that you and the rest of my lords there did mislike. But now let Christian charity work with you, sir, for God’s love, that this realm be not made in one year a double tragedy and a lamentable spoil and scorning-stock of all the world.” Somerset wrote to the confederates at Holborn : “ We do esteem the King, and the tranquillity of this realm more than all other worldly things, yea, than our own life.”

Cranmer and Paget wrote on Somerset’s behalf : “ Marry, he doth consider that . . . with all your advices he was called to the place he now hath, as appeareth in writing under His Majesty’s Great Seal. He hath never been cruel to any of *you*, and why should you be cruelly-minded to him ?” At length Edward, “ moved by the visage of our said uncle and others,” wrote and reproved the Dudley faction for refusing to make terms with the protector. “ Each man hath his faults, he his, and you yours. If in government he hath not so discreetly used himself as in your opinions he might have done, yet lyeth it in us to remit it, for he is our uncle, whom you know we love.”

Whether this emanated from Edward’s brain or Cranmer’s, it was needful that the confederates throw out a gesture to prove themselves wholeheartedly loyal. Smiling up his sleeve, John Dudley despatched a conciliatory message to Windsor. He could afford to do so, for practically all England lay under his heel. Handbills had roused the men of the shires to take up arms in defence of Edward, but official-seeming despatches from London assured every justice of the peace that the handbill was a “ hoax”, intended to raise an army for treasonable purposes, and that it was every magistrate’s duty to keep his own district quiet. Finding a relief army of six thousand men in Somerset’s native Wiltshire, Herbert and Russell contrived to restrain it from marching to Windsor, and themselves went to join Dudley in London. The king and his diminished council were thus cut off from further reinforcements, and had the protector opposed Warwick by armed force, he must sacrifice his men in a terrible and fruitless conflict.

Under the shadow of this disastrous position the loyalists heard Warwick's terms for a truce. It would seem that the confederates' intention towards the duke had been misinterpreted. "They do intend to preserve his honour as much as any of you would." If he would resign the protectorship and dismiss the guard, his life would be spared, his liberty and estates assured. Somerset may have doubted this, but he could not know that Cranmer and Paget had been told, either to make him accept such terms, or to prepare for sharing his fate. Paget, on hearing the council's letter read aloud, fell down at his chief's feet, exclaiming with tears in his eyes : " Oh, my lord, ye see now what my lords be ! " Perhaps with secret misgiving, Somerset yielded to the advice of a time-honoured friend who had so often given him sage counsel before.

The rest was easy from Warwick's point of view. Faithful to their new trust, Cranmer and Paget removed Somerset to a turret away from the royal apartment, sent his children home and reassured the king, who roused up from a bad cough and cold to inquire : " What has become of my uncle, the Duke ? " When, on October 12, Dudley with his council arrived and prostrated themselves, Edward knew ! He had no choice but to accept the new government, though he apparently denied allegations that his uncle had wished to harm him. Next day, contrary to their signed pledge, the confederates conducted Somerset to the Tower of London.

It would not last long, this imprisonment of a rash idealist by shrewd self-seekers. Under Warwick's administration Boulogne would be lost, the coinage would be debased, the commons continue to suffer, the treatment of Catholics harden into persecution. After one winter, most people would be glad to hear Somerset's voice in the council chamber again ; even Warwick would seek a marriage-alliance between their two families. But it was the end of a period of rule that promised well at first, the blighting of a career which began more than a century too soon. As he rode past Tower Hill under guard, the first unroyal protector must have had some premonition of the second, more diabolical plot by which his rival would one day eclipse him altogether, and of the terrible scene at his own execution, when a vast throng below the scaffold cried out for the reprieve of " so great a man " and made for him such " weeping, wailing and lamentation as difficult to describe as believe."

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

“DID YOU SEE KEATS?”

By SYLVA NORMAN

IN our parochial—or is it patriotic?—moods we tend to expect every significant manuscript in the English tongue to be found in the British Museum or the Bodleian Library. This is especially so when a major poet is the protagonist. We accept the friendly rivalry of Keats House, and all who have been to the Rome Memorial House will readily allow its further claim. It is a longer hop to Harvard and it lacks traditions; but looking round on this and other American collections it becomes evident that our nineteenth century romantics have been steadily emigrating: Lamb and Leigh Hunt, Keats, Coleridge, Shelley and many another are held by what appears to be Right of Purchase—a hard fact that supersedes our wistful preference for a spiritual home. The situation, when we come to examine it, is not altogether a grave one. More than anything, dispersal is to be feared when a batch of related manuscripts goes through the sale-rooms. The documents in the new Houghton Library at Harvard represent a re-union rather than a dispersal. Those now published* comprise the Crewe collection sold here in 1939, together with the late Amy Lowell's Keatsiana, and specimens from the Woodhouse letters lent for the benefit of this publication by the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.

A further advantage, besides accessibility to European students, and the re-forming of old links in a new environment, is that America commands the necessary backing for this type of handsome and exhaustive record which can be produced only through grants from such bodies as, in the present instance, the Pforzheimer Foundation. Mr. Rollins perhaps over-

looks this obstacle in suggesting that Keats House in Hampstead—to which we might add Keats House in Rome—should arrange for a similar publication of manuscript material. It is disconcerting that the pursuit of poetry should lead to an economic impasse; when and if some fully-international system of State aid to literature is launched, all manuscripts relating to authors of importance may then be available in printed form in the principal libraries of Europe and America. From such a dream of perfectibility it is more fruitful, at the moment, to return to the Harvard volumes.

Mr. Rollins—an able editor with some previous research to his credit—has arranged the papers in chronological order irrespective of which collection they come from. Those in the Pierpont Morgan Library are for the most part labelled as such, but although a great part of the Crewe collection is self-evident as centring round its ancestor, Monckton Milnes, there is no clear indication which items belong to the Amy Lowell group. Many are cited as having been quoted in part by her or others, and here again, as the editor is building for finality, he might well have been specific by, for example, printing the quoted passages in italics. True, no student can again use “unpublished material”, but he may at least avoid excessive repetition. In return Mr. Rollins might have left the popular Shakespearean tags that occur in the letters undocketed.

There is no question of sensational revelations in these papers; they have been piously plundered by editors and biographers over many years. Few of the letters are addressed to Keats himself. We see here, in the early

* *The Keats Circle*. Letters and Papers 1816-1878. Edited by Hyder Edward Rollins. Harvard University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 2 Volumes. 70s.

stages, a small literary circle fluttering around the publishers, Taylor and Hessey, as contributors to their *London Magazine*. It was a poetic circle, in which Reynolds, Rice and Bailey, Keats and Woodhouse were all alike interested in versifying, with Haydon the artist head and shoulders, in his own estimation, above the lot of them, and George Keats in Kentucky more self-important than his brother John. Amongst these young men writing letters on their own affairs it is attractive to watch how the person of Keats steals in, like a theme in a symphony working its way through rushing figures on the epistolary strings and woodwind, till with the entry of Severn and the journey to Rome it assumes tragic importance, universalized already by the feeling amongst his friends in England, particularly Woodhouse and Brown, that John's poetry will be for all time. Some touches that look pregnant are no doubt unconscious, as this letter of March 1820 :

Dear Taylor—Did you see Keats ?—And how is he ?—And what is 'the cause of thunder' ?—Ever yours, J. H. Reynolds.

Severn, whose half-incoherent, honest, impulsive letters from Rome are some of the warmest items in the collection, could not believe his friend had been appreciated. "His beautiful character will astonish people—for very few knew it," he wrote to Taylor soon after Keats's death. And in the following year : "It was wonderful how deeply Keats felt beauty.—I even think much of this gave him such pain on his death-bed—it was not at all the fear of dying—but the leaving this World of Beauty so soon—before he had experience in it—or knew the purpose of his life." Keats had said as much himself in poetry, but that does not detract from Severn's devotion in perceiving it.

Such warmth and friendly sorrow dissolve as the years go on into the inevitable paper-chase of memoir and biography. The Crewe collection gives us the expected back-stage view of Monckton Milnes, on whom the task

at last devolved, assembling his data to elaborate a portrait from the sketch supplied him by Charles Brown. These information hunts invariably make uncomfortable reading. In Byron's case there had been Tom Moore harassing Mary Shelley and the Guiccioli. Much later, Shelley was to inspire that extraordinary interchange of gossiping, probing letters between Dowden, Garnett and W. M. Rossetti, scratching after seed and clucking like barn-door fowls. Between them in the 'forties, Milnes collects his Keatsiana, eliciting scraps from Severn, Leigh Hunt, Haydon, Cowden Clarke and many more, not excluding the second husband of George Keats's wife, who indeed had documents. If the information was unchecked or mistranscribed that, at the time, was a matter subsidiary to the task of heaving on the market the first quasi-authenticated Life of Keats. These Crewe papers have, as the editor notes, shown Milnes to be still more inaccurate than was believed. He even set up a controversy by quoting Mrs. Proctor, who "never saw him but twice", to the effect that Keats's eyes were blue. The face becomes a legend : in 1877 Milnes (now Houghton) receives from Oscar Wilde a sonnet on Keats and a protest against the "*extremely ugly*" profile set up in the Roman cemetery for a poet who was "lovely as Hyacinthos or Apollo."

The editor, grouping some miscellaneous letters in an appendix, closes his volumes fittingly enough with the last of an interchange of letters between Taylor and Hessey—whose activities have been described, with the aid of some of these papers, in Mr. Blunden's *Keats's Publisher*. Hessey, aging, writes to Taylor in 1860 that "you and I have survived nearly all our contributors. It is an awful thought." Both he and Taylor might have been surprised to see these two rich volumes, confined to the periphery of one of their unremunerative authors, standing, as they will, for permanent reference without a single paper from the poet's pen.

FROM EUCLID TO EDDINGTON :

the *Tarner Lectures 1947*, by Sir
Edmund Whittaker, F.R.S.
Cambridge University Press. 15s.

The general reader has heard disturbing rumours of a theory of indeterminacy more upsetting than old-fashioned determinism, of particles like mesons which are far from permanent, of finite, unbounded universes, of subatomic worlds where the safe laws of physics as taught in schools do not hold sway. He has on occasion been led astray by "non-mathematical" simplifications of relativity and of the other essentially mathematical mysteries. And he has hoped that all this intellectual turmoil contained, if only he could unravel it, a justification for his own particular idea of God and the universe.

How far will Sir Edmund Whittaker's book help him to understand the implications of mathematical logic in the assessment of the true nature of these great entities? The briefest description of the contents might take this form: early mathematicians invented a geometry which worked well in the measurement of the areas of fields or the distances of cities. They assumed that what was practical was also true and that "Euclid" could accurately describe and measure the universe. They took "Euclid" to be logical and the universe to be a common-sense one obeying logic. So strongly was this held that any observation which did not fit in was explained away. Eventually, men began to show that Euclid was not necessarily true at all. And if Euclid was not necessarily true, there was no good reason to suppose we lived in a Euclidean universe.

In two chief directions—what happened on the largest scale beyond the furthest star, and what happened on the smallest scale within the atom and its nucleus—facts began to accumulate which could not be explained on the basis of the mathematics of Euclid and Newton. At the same time, research into logic created an ever more

refined mathematics into which these new facts could be fitted with the assurance that the whole picture would be consistent.

This book is the story of this adventure of the human mind. Whether it will throw light on the reality of the reader's God will depend on what sort of God the reader imagines. Sir Edmund Whittaker's style is the reflection of a mind which knows exactly what it thinks. The great value of its historic approach is that the sequence of human doubts and resolutions of doubts shows how humanity has grown up intellectually, and invites the individual reader to recapitulate the mental evolution of his race.

The course of history gives us a sense of growing unification and therefore of simplification. For instance, numerous conflicting aethers were seen to be unnecessary, thanks to Maxwell. To-day, physics is bedevilled with a growing number of "ultimate" particles—not just the electron and proton of a generation ago, but neutrons, neutrinos, positrons, many kinds of mesons. It is contrary to reason that these cohorts of particles can really be fundamental. Their existence is a sorry sort of unification and simplification. In the last sentence of the book, the author says Eddington's "theory is really based on the principles that there is only one kind of ultimate particle, of which they are, so to speak, disguised manifestations." Would it not be possible to suggest that this sentence is really a summary of the next fifty years' probable advance in mathematical physical research, rather than an allusion to past or present history?

JOHN LANGDON-DAVIES

SOCIAL BIOLOGY AND WELFARE.

by Sybil Neville Rolfe. *George Allen & Unwin.* 21s.

Here is a book written by no armchair idealist but by a woman who has been fully operational in the theatre of human conflict. Not content to study

prostitution and venereal disease by working within the respectable sanctum of the sociological hierarchy, Mrs. Neville Rolfe complete with wig and make-up became a resident of Bloomsbury, then the domain of the moderately professional prostitute. From the author's observation of this way of life arose administrative changes in police procedure.

In the three chapters on prostitution there is manifest a deep insight into the mentality of those whose business it is and into the need which many have for medical and psychiatric care, including measures for the care of the mentally subnormal and social misfits. In preference to the regulation of brothels the author wisely takes the long and wide view of social biology and presses for a reasonable standard of general education, economic opportunity and independence to both sexes. To reduce the frequency of irresponsible sexual behaviour she advises early marriage, the prevention of adolescent strain and emotional starvation in infancy; also advocated is the rehabilitation of the prostitute and of those persistently promiscuous.

In his contribution Dr. McLachlan, as a venereologist, proposes a long term progressive policy of education in personal and public health and protection of the adolescent by accurate sexual knowledge. This may achieve much in the way of minimizing the frequency of venereal disease but leaves ethics out in the cold.

That the physical, mental and moral welfare of mankind can be furthered if not finally established by the practice of eugenics is a not unfamiliar conviction and due attention is paid in this book to economics, food production, social conditions, and the control of heredity and environment in the prevention of disease of body and mind.

A break from the rigidity of reason in control of the human race and its destiny is afforded by the author's acknowledgment that the way of truth lies in the synthesis of thought and

emotion, which she considers to be synonymous with mind and spirit. Surely the spirit is not emotion but the essence from which thought and emotion arise, transcending them and not infrequently playing havoc with both.

Mrs. Neville Rolfe believes that personal freedom will be enhanced by increasing biological knowledge and in particular she mentions the control of sex and precise information as to the ovulation cycle; human fallibility is such that this knowledge might well be used by power seekers to govern the sex and size of the family.

The publishers pronounce this to be a provocative book and indeed it is; a welcome source of stimulating thought and controversy.

GUY RICHMOND

THE STILWELL PAPERS, by Joseph W. Stilwell. Edited and arranged by Theodore H. White. *Macdonald*. 18s.

Early in 1942 General Stilwell was sent out as the United States military commander and representative in China. After a long and tenacious effort to get the Chinese to take an effective part in the war, and to use properly the arms with which the United States supplied them, General Stilwell came to the conclusion that General Chiang Kai-shek was incapable of leadership and that the U.S. Government was backing the wrong horse. At the time Washington disagreed with him and in October 1944 Stilwell was recalled. Since his death events have shown that he was right. Even if he had been wrong there seems little doubt, from this record, that he was entitled to better treatment than he received. During the two and half years of his struggle he achieved many things—not least the advance of Chinese troops, under his personal command, down the Mogaung Valley in Burma to Myitkyina.

These pages are hard for an Englishman because they are full of violent, emotional attacks on his own country and on his wartime leaders. And

there are passages where the writer uses four-letter words as often as the average man uses commas and full-stops. But both those barriers are worth surmounting. Once they are passed, what begins as schoolboy crudeness becomes at times a warm and charming naivety—for example, the simple entry, at the Cairo Conference of November 1943: "F.D.R. doesn't like me to call Chiang Kai-shek Peanut." Halfway through the book even the hostile reader is likely to find himself on Stilwell's side in the long struggle against General Chiang Kai-shek, Chungking corruption, Allied disunity, the Burmese jungle and incidentally the Japanese. By the end the reader will be as fiercely partisan as the diarist himself.

The interconnecting passages supplied by the editor of the book, sometimes written in the dramatic vein of our travelogue friend from sunny Hawaii may be skipped.

GORDON WINTER.

INDIA, by C. H. PHILIPS. *Hutchinson's University Library.* 7s. 6d.

Those who wish to acquire the knowledge that is so essential to the understanding of Indian problems would do well to study Professor Philips' short sketch of Indian history. Most of the space available is devoted to political developments since the 'eighties; but realizing that Hindu psychology to-day can only be understood in relation to its background the author makes a rapid but not inadequate sketch of the march of events from the fifth century B.C. to the rise of the British power in India. One gets the impression that he regards the Hindu caste system as mainly responsible for the failure of Hinduism to stand up to invasions from Central Asia and especially to keep Islam at bay. "Hinduism", he comments, "produced a social structure which instilled in the masses a feeling that the defence of the country was no concern of theirs."

Caste is still strong in India but the military traditions built up in the Indian army under British leadership should make defence an easier problem than it was seven centuries ago.

Professor Philips thinks the India Act of 1935 came too late. One wonders whether the verdict of history will endorse this view. Had Congress accepted Mr. Jinnah's offer of collaboration in the popular ministries set up in 1937 the partition of India might have been avoided.

Muslims would probably not agree that their country is a poor agricultural Muslim State as against an industrially strong India. Pakistan is self-supporting in food; India is not. Pakistan has indeed a surplus of food grains and exports long-staple cotton, hides and skins and other raw material; she has practically a world monopoly of jute and earns far more dollars than her neighbour.

The book is not an apologia for British rule and the author does not go out of his way to meet the indictments levelled against it, such, for example, as the exploitation of the masses and the adoption of a policy of *divide et impera*, of which one heard so much in the old days. There is ample material in Mr. Philips' survey from which the ordinary reader can form an opinion on such matters.

"Thus fifty years' struggle reached its tragic climax." Let us hope that despite the appalling events that followed the British departure, Hindus and Muslims may at last realize that if they wish to avoid disaster they must stand together.

WILLIAM P. BARTON

BLACK LIBERATOR, by Stephen Alexis. *Benn.* 18s.

TROPIC ADVENTURE, by Willard Price. *Heinemann.* 21s.

"Thou hast great allies", said Wordsworth in his magnificent sonnet to Toussaint Louverture, of whose

career most of us merely know what Wordsworth says and implies, so that we have been wont to feel the profoundest sympathy for the hero whom Napoleon lured to France, there to be done to death. But now we have a most painstaking biography written by one of his compatriots who is much more judicious than Wordsworth.

There is no doubt that Toussaint was a very remarkable man, a fact of which he was himself well aware. There was a period when he was addressing Napoleon practically as an equal, presenting him with the *fait accompli* of a Constitution, "welcomed," so he said, "by all classes of citizens with transports of joy" and occupying, certainly against Napoleon's will, the eastern, Spanish part of his native island. Toussaint's allies were at one time the white and at another the mulatto population; nor did he, in his ambition to establish at any rate an autonomous

Negro State, fail to seek the assistance of Napoleon's British enemies. His personality was not attractive, but there was undoubtedly a grandeur in his titanic struggle to forge a nation out of a stratum of mankind brought low through three hundred years of slavery.

Capable of great generosity, he could also commit the blackest crimes if he was opposed. He could be supremely hypocritical, but one must admire the nobility he displayed when, imprisoned by Napoleon in a climate very different from Haiti, his gaoler Baille far surpassed in malignity the gaoler of Napoleon at Saint Helena.

It is interesting to see what are the conditions to-day in Haiti and in that eastern part, the Dominican Republic. According to Mr. Willard Price, an obviously fair-minded American observer, the balance swings very much in Haiti's favour. The American management of finances freed

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Haiti of foreign debt and now, although the people are still 90 per cent. illiterate, "it is remarkable," says Mr. Price, "what they have accomplished."

The small country is badly overcrowded, and it may be that sooner or later there will be a clash with the half-empty Dominican Republic next door. Strange things have happened there; the name of the capital, Santa Domingo, has become Ciudad Trujillo, in honour of Generalissimo Doctor Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, who has decorated the main street with a neon sign reading 'Trujillo Forever'. He wears a bullet-proof vest and has his food tasted before he eats anything, for he has a number of critics who would like to dispose of him. Mr. Price acknowledges that the 'Benefactor', as Trujillo proclaims himself, was able to leap into the saddle kindly provided for him by the United States, when the National Guard which they established to maintain order was inherited by him and, what with assassinations on a pretty wholesale scale, the emptiness of the Republic is becoming quite a weakness.

All the other Latin-American States are described for us by Mr. Price, some of them, such as Chile or Costa Rica, so that we would like to go there, others that we would avoid. This is an absorbing book, obviously written by a man who above everything wishes the truth to prevail.

HENRY BAERLEIN

THE JENKINSON PAPERS 1760-1766. Edited by Ninetta S. Jucker. Macmillan, 28s.

Professor Namier's *The Structure of Politics in the Age of George III* demolished once and for all the romantic aura of mystery and constitutional criminality which the eloquence of Burke had cast around the political entourage of George III. It revealed the 'King's Friends' in their true light; friendly critics would say they were an embryonic civil service trying to emancipate themselves from the slavery of faction, while less charitable observers would describe them as

politicians of the second order sheltering behind the pretence of being disinterested servants of the Crown, but on either interpretation the significant feature of their position was that they represented the point at which politics leaves off and administration begins—the under-secretaries, the 'number twos' of departments. As such they are no more sinister than their opposite numbers in Washington to-day, where the separation of powers and a disbelief in a neutral civil service combine to reproduce many of the features of British eighteenth century administration.

In the *Jenkinson Papers*, the latest volume in the Studies in Modern History series under the editorship of Professor Namier, Miss Jucker has taken the correspondence of one of the most important of the 'King's Friends' and selected from it 450 pages of the most readable, informative and significant items. The son of a minor country gentleman, himself the younger son of an only moderately wealthy baronet, Jenkinson was destined from the start (since he was not entering the army or the church) to be an eighteenth century hanger-on of some great public man. His choices were, successively, Bute and Grenville, and under their patronage he rose to be first, Under-Secretary in the Northern Department and, later, Senior Secretary to the Treasury. In these posts he filled many rôles. Foreign affairs were his professional business in the Northern Department, but with Bute as his chief it was inevitable that the greater part of his time should be spent on the handling of patronage. His transfer to the Treasury in 1763 only intensified his labours in connection with "those who have it in their power to make so many people happy." But although this was necessarily his major pre-occupation he also had other (though not, in the estimation of his day and age, more serious) duties to fulfil. He dealt also with the other work of his department, the placing of contracts, the transactions with secret service

agents abroad, the framing of budgets.

The result makes interesting reading, not only for the historian of the period but for anyone who finds edification in watching the "play of human nature over the surface of public life. It reveals, like so much eighteenth century correspondence of its type, a mixture of good prose, adulation, self-advertisement, avidity for gossip and shrewish common-sense. It is a flavour more agreeable to some palates than to others, but like a Rowlandson cartoon it is always unmistakable.

H. G. NICHOLAS

THE LIFE OF REASON, by D. G. James. *Longmans*. 18s.

This is a puzzling book to know how to review, for it is the first of a series of four volumes, presumably all to be written by Professor James, though the blurb does not make this clear. These books will survey in detail the Augustan period which he defines as extending roughly from 1650 to 1780. "I include the *Leviathan* at one end as a monument of Augustanism and, at the other, I give 1780 to cover (or very nearly) the appearance of Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*."

Undoubtedly this is to be a work of considerable value to serious students of English Literature—particularly for examinations—and it will be found in university libraries and dons' studies. Let us look at the last sentences of this first volume :

If I have urged these and suchlike reflections and criticisms against the Augustan philosophers of whom I have spoken, I have not done so with any foolish view of preparing the ground for an 'attack' upon the Augustan poets. On the contrary I have done so with a view to exhibiting the quality of the performance of these poets under difficult circumstances. In any case we are not chiefly concerned to carry on what is called 'literary criticism' but to come by some sort of historical understanding of literature.

From this extract, Professor James' thorough and somewhat exhausting use of English will be apparent, and also the fact that we are yet to come to

grips with the central theme. This book then, is a study of Hobbes, Locke, and Bolingbroke, and a commentary upon their philosophies—a study which is not immediately illuminating, for it is essential to have a considerable familiarity with the originals ; and if one has, much of what Professor James has to say will, I think, be found repetitive and even a little obvious. Whether it will encourage those who have not done so to read these philosophers for himself is another matter.

The principle point to be established is the common mistrust of the imagination. How that background of mistrust affected the poets may be shown in the next volume. This should be a fascinating theme, but I wish Professor James had been able to indicate a little more temptingly what we may expect. Philosophical and historical criticism need not, surely, be written quite so long-windedly ?

PATRIC DICKINSON

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BOOKS ON THE TABLE

In face of twentieth century disillusionment and despair there is something to be said for rounding up the scientists and deporting them to a remote island, where they could blow each other up to their hearts' content. Those who would greet with cheers this suggestion, admittedly emotional (and why not, when cruelty, injustice and greed are in question ?), will be calmed and possibly reassured by a study of Dr. F. Sherwood Taylor's *CONCERNING SCIENCE* (Macdonald. 6s.). The Curator of the Museum of the History of Science at Oxford is here no specialist revelling in his speciality and blandly unconcerned with its repercussions in other spheres. For example, he can say,

the more truly a civilization can be called exclusively scientific, the less religious, the less moral, the less artistic it tends to be and, in discussing what science is, with its relation to industry and to modern civilization, he shows the same willingness to define its limitations, and thus preserves his balance, and the reader's. To the enthusiasts who think that "scientific reasoning" will improve human behaviour he gives little hope. Thus, psychology cannot choose whether you are to prefer your own good or your neighbours, "though it can point out the pitfalls which lie between you and the end you have chosen."

Down under

Even Sigmund Freud would have claimed for it no more. The aim of his last work, *Abriss der Psychoanalyse*, now translated by James Strachey into *AN OUTLINE OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS* (The Hogarth Press. 8s. 6d.), was to state its doctrines "as it were, dogmatically—in the most positive terms." Those, and we are many, who habitually use the word 'commonsense' instead of 'psychology' stand corrected by the master, who, in describing the mind and its workings reveals here just how much of the iceberg is submerged. He has been

down and seen it all, measured it and charted it, and the layman must be dumb before the manifestations of Oedipus, Electra and Eros, parapraxes, cathexes, ego and id. Nevertheless—and there is probably a direful maladjustment betrayed by such an attitude—instead of being aghast at the revelations, there is a tendency to laugh, not at Freud's life-work of experiment and research, but at the pontifical portentousness of the psychological approach. When it learns to laugh a little at itself, the layman will stop.

Steps in brotherliness

Meanwhile, despite science and psychology we must, as the Charter of the United Nations has it, "reaffirm faith in the dignity and worth of the human person" and David Thomson's *EQUALITY* (Cambridge University Press: Current Problems. 3s. 6d.) will help us to take our bearings. Five of his chapters deal with legal, religious, political, economic and international equality. In analysing the relation of Franklin Roosevelt's four freedoms to each other, the author finds that, having grown out of the fight for liberty, the present stage of the quest for equality may eventually reach its goal of fraternity.—Great Britain's latest leap in that direction, the "extension of the benefits of modern therapy to all the population on the sole criterion of need," commencing on July 5, 1948, is covered most comprehensively and fairly in *BRITANNICA BOOK OF THE YEAR 1949* (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*. £2 10s.). But, picked at random, so are two other events: President Truman's re-election and the Olympic Games. The volume's usefulness is not confined to the recording of the spectacular, however. Remembering when Prince Charles was born, or Gandhi assassinated, or Masaryk died is not hard, but the ending of potato rationing, General Franco's meeting with Don Juan, the

lifting of the Gold Coast curfew, the Lords' rejection of the Parliament Bill are more elusive occasions, duly chronicled here. Last year's developments in the arts, science and industry ; sport ; prophets, priests and kings—all have their place in it. And, to give it a crowning glory, for the first time in ten years it is published in London. Not more than a third of the 450 contributors appear to be American and the views of all are world-wide ; this lack of bias now reinforces our gratitude to the U.S.A. for " holding the fort."

English heritage

In fact, E. N. Da C. Andrade's apostrophe to Sir William Bragg is apt :

To you, for sense and learning famed,
Our Institution, lately lamed
By war's disfiguring event,
Makes a devout acknowledgment.

But Professor Andrade in *POEMS AND SONGS* (Macmillan. 7s. 6d.) can do much better than this. He has a pleasant lyric gift, at its best when dedicated to love and nature. In contemplating the vagaries of the human race he can be caustic—in his brains trust manner of dismissing the questioner's muddleheadedness—but he can fulfil too the affinity claimed for him " with an age when long hours in the service of the exact sciences did not exclude devotion to the Muses " by bringing a certain mathematical precision to the shaping of many of his songs.

—THE *AMBLESIDE BOOK OF VERSE*, chosen and edited by E. W. Parker (*Longmans*. 6s.) is an anthology for " those who are beginning to explore the treasures of our great heritage of poetry." Though the lake poets are well represented, the contents are not exclusive to them, as the title might imply. Divisions are enticingly headed into ballads, humour, narrative poems, pictures from longer poems and lyrics, the last section being so properly the longest. What child would not be caught up in the rhythm of Shelley's

Cloud, Browning's *Lost Leader*, Wordsworth's *Daffodils* or Flecker's *Dying Patriot*. Then, not merely for the discoverers but for old acquaintance sake as well, there is Chesterton, and Shakespeare, and Tennyson, and Rupert Brooke, with Edmund Blunden, Andrew Young, Christopher Morley and John Masfield to keep the later twentieth century in the picture ; though—and it is perhaps not without significance—" modern " verse is absent.

J.A.

" Are you going to ask me to define poetry ? " wrote James Agate to the soldier. " My dear Sergeant, better men than I have spent a lifetime over this and failed." Nevertheless, he goes on to draw a remarkably sharp line between what is poetry and what is not. The letter is included in *A SHORTER EGO* : Volume 3, the autobiography of James Agate (*Harrap*. 9s. 6d.). This is made up of the cream of *Egos* 7, 8 and 9 and thus brings his story to an end, for he died within three days of making the last entry in June 1947. For one who has read all the parts in turn, and who enjoyed the writings of James Agate even though he could sometimes be infuriating with his prejudices and extravagance, there is little left to add to what has already been said here or elsewhere. Sufficient that he was, as Alan Dent said in the footnote to *Ego* 9, " at his consummate best—either writing or talking—on the subject of great acting."

The art of talking

Which sets the hand reaching for the next two books on the table. First comes *THE CONVERSATIONS OF DR. JOHNSON* (*John Lehmann* : The Chiltern Library. 8s. 6d.), extracted from the *Life* by James Boswell and edited with a preface by Raymond Postgate. The selection, originally made twenty years ago, reveals him afresh, more genuinely curmudgeonly than Agate, just as prejudiced, just as extravagant, and overflowing with that commonsense

clothed in wit that was our dramatic critic's intermittent charm. Everyone can, and does, quote snippets of Johnson and every honour is paid to Boswell except that of reading him ; in his hands the talk outdoes Tennyson's brook and Mr. Postgate's thinning out reduces the sage to manageable proportions. Probably the failure to supply an index was for the purpose of discouraging the aforesaid snippetry. If so, it has succeeded ; a great hunt was needed to re-discover the quotation that leads to the next book : "Talking of the Comedy of 'The Rehearsal,'" he said, "it has not wit enough to keep it sweet."—This is very hard on the second Duke of Buckingham who wrote it over a hundred years before. But then, says Hester Chapman in *GREAT VILLIERS (Secker & Warburg. 18s.)*, "as recently as 1945, the accomplished and discerning Sir Laurence Olivier chose to revive *The Critic*, when *The Rehearsal* had been so long ignored." This biography panders to the fascinated wonder with which we read of Restoration England, and presents a man who sums up in himself all the brilliance and vice of his age. He shared with his monarch, with the younger Rochester and a crowd of others, gracefulness and charm in conversation and verse, a gift of repartee that could delight or sting and a background of culture and elegance. He also shared their taste for hypocrisy, their squalid intrigues, their mistresses and their diseases. Even if the fascination sometimes resembles that of the snake for the rabbit, it is hard to put the book down. In places the drawings of Charles II, Clarendon, Monmouth and others show up more clearly than the main portrait, but this only adds to the interest and value of the re-creation of an age in which wit and licence were both taken for granted. And, rather than ponderous observations on the rise and fall of an exceptional being, George Villiers may be left with his own epitaph : "Fortune filled him too full, and he run over."

Island spells

This is not a fate likely to overtake Henry Baerlein. In *LANDFALLS AND FAREWELL (Frederick Muller. 15s.)* he shows how to enjoy life without falling foul of excess. His travels are a never failing source of delight to him, and to his readers, and it is only his high spirits that run over. "You old rascal," said his Ambleside landlady, and her counterparts in the islands of the Kattegat would probably say it in Danish. (This is a description he prizes highly, be it noted.) His associates on his journey too are all characters to his taste, and ours ; if beauty be in the eye of the beholder, why not their whimsicality, their storytelling powers, their friendliness, in Mr. Baerlein's ? The hairdresser, with "his smile like a harvest festival," the doctor, "who was taking off his hat to practically every person we met," the charming girl who ran the children's library, the fatherly hall-porter of the Odense Hotel, are chance acquaintances straight out of the author's store of good fortune. And for the islands themselves he should be the ideal courier. Aided by some excellent photographs he puts Denmark down in the mind as a country that sooner or later must be visited.—A GLIMPSE OF MADEIRA by Cecil H. Miles (*Peter Garnett. 15s.*) is another book to lure the traveller. Born in the island, and after education in England and sojourns in far distant places, the author returned, to become latterly a Vice-Consul there. So, the various aspects of the lives of the people in Madeira as seen by him would indeed "pass unnoticed by the majority of visitors." He, too, has about 60 illustrations, in a format verging on the sumptuous.

Avanti

But enough. The table must be cleared and the typewriter covered. Italy is calling and for the next fortnight may not be denied.

GRACE BANYARD